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THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

FROM 1574 TO 1610.

VOL. VI.

Strahan and Preston,
Printers-Street, London.

THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF HENRY THE THIRD,

IN 1574,

TO THE

DEATH OF HENRY THE FOURTH,

IN 1610.

PRECEDED BY

A VIEW OF THE CIVIL, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE,

BETWEEN THE MIDDLE, AND THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY;

AND FOLLOWED BY

A VIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE

AT THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS THE THIRTEENTH.

BY SIR N. WILL^M. WRAXALL, BART.

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

THE AGE OF HENRY THE FOURTH.

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Nature and extent of the royal authority. — Powers and privileges of the parliaments. — Finances. — Administration of Sully. — Revenues. — Taxes. — Oppression of the inferior orders, — Funds. — Coin. — Nature of military service.—Change introduced into it under Henry the Fourth. — Improvements made in the art of war. — Superiority of the Spanish troops. — Commerce. — Colonization. — Canals. — Manufactures. — Enlargement of Henry's views. — Condition of the peasants. — State of Paris. — Augmentation and embellishment of the capital. — Police. — Effect of the civil wars, in enriching France.

THE genius of the French government under Henry the Fourth, was not the less absolute, because, like that of Trajan in antiquity, it was directed by wisdom, and tempered by benignity.

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1589—1610.

Absolute power ex-

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benignity. Henry, in succeeding to the throne of his predecessors, manifested thro'out his whole life, that he considered himself as inheriting all their claims and prerogatives. Instructed by the experience of the preceding sovereign, and attentive to the example set him by Francis the First on that point, he never once assembled the States-General, in the course of his reign of near twenty-one years. Tenacious of his authority, he carefully avoided every experiment which might subject it to discussion, or might compromise its independance. If, pressed by necessity, surrounded by enemies, and destitute of pecuniary resources for maintaining his troops, he ever had recourse to other means than the powers inherent in the crown; he well knew how to limit, direct, and extinguish such temporary interference. When, towards the close of the year 1596, he convoked an assembly at Rouen, for the purpose of imposing new taxes on the people; we may see in every step, that he only considered it as the agent of his will, and as the instrument of his pleasure. By the materials of its political formation, by the limitation of its numbers, and by every precaution of a vigilant policy, he took care to secure himself from those encroachments, to which Henry the Third had been compelled to submit, when he assembled the States-General of France. The convocation of the "Notables" which likewise took place in 1596, was of a much more harmless and tractable nature than the States-General. Neither the nobility, nor the general

ercised by Henry the Fourth.

Assembly, at Rouen.

mass of the nation, were in fact either present in, or represented by the delegates deputed to sit in the assembly of "Notables." We may see in Sully, that the members composing it, were principally selected from the church, the magistracy, or the finance; they were consequently as little open to the intrigues of faction, as they were likely to hazard the royal displeasure, by any uncourtly or inflexible adherence to the exclusive interests of the people. [a]

Henry's conduct towards them.

It is curious to consider the principal features of Henry's conduct, on the only occasion when he may be said to have met the shadow of a popular assembly. With consummate ability, he opened the meeting by a speech, calculated to make the deepest impression on his audience, from the affectionate sentiments of paternal solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, with which it was replete in every sentence. In some of his expressions, he even seemed to renounce every prerogative inimical to freedom of debate, or to general liberty. "I have not called you together," said he, "as my predecessors were used, "merely to approve of my orders; but on the "contrary, to receive your advice, to believe "it, and to follow it: in a word, to put myself "as a ward, into your hands; a disposition "not customary in kings, in grey beards, and "in conquerors [b]." How little real meaning, nevertheless, was contained under these splen-

His speech.

[a] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 339. D'Aubig. Hist. Univ. vol. iii. p. 582.

[b] Chron. Noven. vol. i. p. 629.

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did professions, we learn from a contemporary writer. Henry having demanded of Gabrielle d'Estrées, his mistress, who had been present, concealed behind a piece of tapestry, during the ceremony, what she thought of this harangue; Gabrielle answered, that it appeared to her perfect, except in one passage, where he had talked of putting himself in wardship. "Ventre saint gris," exclaimed the king, "it "is true; but I mean, with my sword by my "side[c]." We cannot help contrasting such a sovereign, with his tame and imbecile descendant, who delivered up the monarchy in 1789, to a Parisian mob.

Tractability of the "Notables."

So great was the spirit of acquiescence and submission which animated the "Notables," that Henry expressed no repugnance at their presuming to touch one of the most sacred branches of executive government, the expenditure of the public money. He even allowed them to amuse themselves, while they deluded the people, by fabricating speculative plans of finance; and by forming a division of the revenue between the wants of the sovereign, and those of the state: or in modern language, instituting a fund for the King's civil list and household, independent of the general receipt. Instructed secretly by Rosny, having soon entangled these ignorant financiers in the web of their own machinations, he compelled them to renounce in future any attempts of a

[c] Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 145, 146.

similar

similar kind. When the assembly had fulfilled the object of its intention, by imposing a new contribution of a Sous, or half-penny in the Livre, upon all articles of consumption or merchandize without exception, the King transferred the meeting to Paris; where they may be said to have dissolved in their own weakness. So total indeed, was the oblivion into which they sunk, that the precise time of their extinction or dissolution, is not marked in any of the contemporary writers. [d]

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Dissolution of the assembly.

Towards the parliaments, and peculiarly towards that of Paris, the first in dignity and consideration, Henry manifested on numerous occasions, how much he considered them as only the organ of his commands. He mitigated, it is true, the severity of his orders, by adopting the language of request; but if any remonstrance or delay was interposed in the execution, he speedily assumed a tone of authority. In 1599, when an opposition arose in the parliament of Paris, to verifying the celebrated edict of Nantes given in the preceding year, under which enlarged and beneficent law the Protestants during near ninety years enjoyed toleration; the King commanded the attendance of the members, in his closet. "You see "me here in my cabinet," said he to them, "where I address myself to you, not as the "kings my predecessors were used, in royal

Henry's treatment of the parliament of Paris, on issuing the edict of Nantes.

[d] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 338—342. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 18—25.

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" robes, and in a habit of ceremony; nor as a " prince who gives audience to embassadors: " but, dressed in my ordinary cloaths, as a fa- " ther of a family, who would converse with " his children." He then conjured them to register, and to publish the edict; even condescending to prove its utility, justice, and necessity, by many cogent arguments. Changing nevertheless his language, when he saw occasion to mingle threats with his persuasions; " I know," added he, " that there have been " parties in the parliament, and that seditious " preachers have been excited: I will put good " order to those people, without waiting for it " from you." — " I will shorten by the head, all " such as venture to foment faction: I have " leaped over the walls of cities: I shall not " be terrified by Barricades."—"I have made " the edict; let it be observed. My will should " stand in the place of reason: it ought to be " executed, not interpreted. I am king; as " such I now speak, and will be obeyed[e]." It must be owned, that if this be not the tone of despotism, it is difficult to say what can be so denominated. The parliament retiring, obeyed, and verified the edict.

His menaces.

His power, in imposing taxes.

Nor was the power of the crown less arbitrary over the property of the people, than in enacting regulations of civil, or religious po-

[e] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 375—379. Jour. d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 206, 207. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 210—213.

licy.

licy. When Henry undertook to retake Amiens from the Spaniards in 1597, he issued several edicts, imposing taxes of so severe a nature, that the parliament of Paris refused to register them; and they waited on the King in a body, to offer him their reasons for such a conduct. He received them in his bed; but, far from yielding to their remonstrances, he treated them with injurious language; so far forgetting his own dignity, and the respect due to the president whom he addressed, as to give the lye direct to that magistrate. His great grandson, the Regent Duke of Orleans, in the last century, was accustomed to use towards them even more contumelious expressions. On their persisting for near four weeks, in their opposition, Henry repaired in person to the hall where they held their deliberations; harangued them with brevity; and ordered them instantly to register the pecuniary edicts in question. His presence, sustained by the public necessity of the time, having extinguished all further resistance, procured their publication. [f]

Compulsory modes of exacting money.

Every violent and oppressive mode of taxing, or rather of plundering the people, practised under the reign of Henry the Third, was repeated by his successor; but, the difference of the circumstances in which the two princes exerted the same acts of power, totally altered their effect. Minions, courtiers, and all the

[f] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 162—165.

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vermin of a profligate, licentious palace, devoured by anticipation, the produce of the accumulated taxes, under the last king of the house of Valois. Henry the Fourth expended with frugality, in defence of the nation, the sums which he reluctantly exacted from his subjects. In both cases, the prerogative standing in the place of law, surmounted every attempt made for its limitation. Compulsory loans were enforced in 1597, during the siege of Amiens. The King sent messages to all the principal members of the parliament, as well as to the individuals reputed most wealthy, thro'out the capital; demanding of them sums, proportioned to their supposed ability. They complied; but we do not precisely know the amount of the money thus borrowed, or rather extorted[g]. Even the rents, or annuities issuing out of the town-hall, from which many of the wealthy Parisians derived their principal means of subsistence, and which fund had always been considered as a sort of sacred property, were not exempted. In December, 1596, we find the King coming expressly to Paris, for the purpose of seizing on so inconsiderable a sum as four thousand crowns. Repairing in person to the town-house, he made a short speech; ordered a citizen named Carel, who had only presumed to draw up a petition in favor of the proprietors or annuitants, to be sent prisoner to St. Germain; and menaced with the Bastile,

Loans.

Rents of the town-hall,

seized by the King.

[g] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 166.

the

the first man who should presume to hold seditious language on the subject[h]. No fact can more forcibly display, at once the necessities, and the power of the crown. The people murmured, but did not venture to resist the royal will. Enquiries into the malversations of the financiers, together with the creation of new, supernumerary, and useless offices in the courts of justice, or in the collection of the revenues; constituted, as in the preceding reign, two common and ruinous modes, of replenishing the treasury.[i]

Power arrogated by the parliaments.

Notwithstanding these severe and oppressive acts of prerogative, the parliaments, in an especial manner, that of Paris, independant of their jurisdiction, as courts of civil, or of criminal law, enjoyed and exercised no inconsiderable portion of legislative, or political power. In every period when the royal authority became either suspended by rebellion, or extinguished by death; they arrogated, and their title was recognized by the nation, the legitimate right of naming regents, or lieutenants of the crown. The declaration of the "Council of union," in 1589, constituting the Cardinal of Bourbon King, by the name of Charles the Tenth, and appointing the Duke of Mayenne his vice gerent, as head of "the League;" did not receive the stamp of authenticity, till it had been published

[h] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 147.

[i] Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 216. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 137, 138. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. p. 165, 166; and vol. ii. p. 200, 201. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 324, and p. 553, 554.

by

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by the parliament[k]. In like manner, Cardinal Cajetan, the Legate of Sixtus the Fifth, in 1590, presented his credentials to the same body, on his arrival at Paris, as to the only constitutional representatives of the French nation[l]. To their magnanimous and patriotic exertions in 1593, was in a great degree due the preservation of the crown in the family of Bourbon, and the final extinction of every project for transferring it to the Infanta of Spain. We cannot peruse without emotions of pleasure and admiration, the remonstrance presented on the occasion to the Duke of Mayenne, which breathes the generous spirit of the best ages of the Roman Senate. Unsubdued by the threats of the Duke, who prepared to annul their decree for preserving the inviolability of the Salic law, and the succession to the throne in a native, Catholic prince; the members swore to maintain its observance at the hazard of their lives[m]. The English Convention of 1689, which declared James the Second to have abdicated the throne, did not manifest more enlarged principles of political action. In the following year, the parliament of Paris, venturing even on measures still more decisive, peremptorily enjoined the Spanish garrison to quit the capital.[n]

Extending over the succession to the crown.

Titles, assumed by the parliament.

That assembly assumed, as a collective body, the titles of "Tutors of the kingdom, and

[k] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 6. [l] Ibid. p. 10.
[m] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 780—787. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 268—271. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 173—175.
[n] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 298—301.

"fathers

"fathers of the people, interposed between the "crown and the subject[o]." Nor were these epithets merely nominal, or destitute of solid foundation and efficacy. If on some occasions, they proved unable to extend protection, they appear rarely to have been deficient in exerting endeavours for the purpose. Against the insolent encroachments of the ecclesiastical order, all the parliaments of France seem to have exerted equal vigilance and resistance. It would be easy to cite numerous examples under the reign of Henry the Fourth, in which they opposed at once the prejudices of a superstitious age, and the immunities of a privileged class of men[p]. When the Bishop of Senlis, in 1598, unrestrained by gratitude for the pardon of his past rebellion, presumed to hold language subversive of all obedience to the sovereign, the parliament compelled him to appear in the hall appropriated to their meetings; there, bareheaded, to retract his tenets, as detestable and impious. He was moreover fined in the sum of fifty crowns, and interdicted from preaching during a limited time. The bishop, from a reliance on the sanctity of his episcopal character, having presumed to present himself in the sacerdotal dress and ornaments; the parliament, indignant at his conduct, caused him to be ignominiously stripped by one of the ushers[q]. In 1602, they acted with equal firmness towards

Their opposition to the clergy.

Instances of it.

[o] Satyre Menip. vol. iii. p. 546.
[p] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 480—490; and vol. xiii. p. 29, 30.
[q] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 196.

the

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the Bishop of Angers, who having infringed the established rights of the ecclesiastics of his diocese, attempted innovations of a dangerous nature[r]. The parliament of Bourdeaux, nearly at the same period, maintained no less vigorously, their own rights, and those of the people, against the Cardinal of Sourdis, Archbishop of that city.[s]

Jealousy, and vigilance of that body.

Such was the jealous vigilance exercised by the Parliament of Paris, to prevent any defalcation of their just authority, that they seem never to have relaxed, even on the most unimportant articles Henry having in 1602, with a view to stop the rage of duelling, instituted a tribunal, to which contests between gentlemen might be referred, which court was composed of the Constable and Marshals of France; it only obtained the sanction of the parliament, with a specific reservation, that the causes amenable to its jurisdiction, should be limited rigorously to matters of honor and punctilio[t]. In many of the decrees, or regulations issued by the parliament, it is not easy to discriminate accurately its legislative, from its judicial functions. They are even sometimes mingled in so intricate a manner, as to leave it doubtful, whether they should be considered as the decisions of a court of civil and criminal law, or as the institutions of a deliberative, political assembly.

Confusion of their legislative, and judicial functions.

Finances.

The finances of France under Henry the Fourth, form one of the most interesting, as well

[r] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 119—123. [s] Ibid. p. 113—116.
[t] Ibid. p. 110.

as

as instructive objects of historical attention and discussion. In the annals of modern nations, there have been few, if any examples, of a country rescued by a systematic pursuit of wise and œconomical measures, from so profound an abyss of debt. At his accession, the King might be said to possess neither domain, nor revenues; both having been anticipated and mortgaged by the thoughtless facility, or wanton profusion of his predecessor. The army, which was retained under the standard avowedly by the hope of plunder, neither received nor expected pay. Bread alone was daily distributed among the French soldiery; while the foreign troops were defrayed by pecuniary contributions, levied expressly for their sustenance, from the captured towns[u]. The personal necessities of the King himself were such, as to reduce him to the adoption of the most humiliating measures, in order to satisfy his wants. D'Aubigné declares that in September, 1590, Henry, who was then at the head of his forces, opposed to the Duke of Parma, "having been without bread for his own table, went to beg a "dinner at that of the Superintendant of his "finances, the Marquis D'O; where he found "three dishes delicately dressed. The company reluctantly made room for him and his "attendants[x]." Four years afterwards, during

Their ruined state.

Poverty of the King.

[u] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 69. Davila, p. 821. D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 335.

[x] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 241.

the

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the siege of Laon in Picardy, his necessities were, if possible still greater.[y]

1589—1610.

It was not till after the treaty of Vervins in 1589, that he began to taste any of the enjoyments commonly annexed to his high station. If we would peruse the most eloquent, though simple narration of his distress in 1596, near seven years after his accession to the throne, we have it under his own hand. In a letter addressed to Rosny, dated on the fifteenth of April in that year, when he was ready to open the campaign against the Spaniards; he says, "I wish to acquaint you with the state to "which I am reduced: it is such, that though "almost in presence of the enemy, I have neither a horse on which I can engage, nor a "coat of armor that I can wear. My shirts "are all torn; my doublets, in holes at the elbow; and even my very kitchen utensils are "overturned. For these last two days, I dine "and sup with one and another; my stewards "assuring me that they possess no longer the "means of providing my table, as they have "not received any money for above six months. "Judge, if I deserve to be thus treated; and if "I ought any longer to suffer that my financiers and treasurers make me die of hunger, "while their own tables are served with every "delicacy[z]." His grandson, Charles the Second, after his flight from Worcester, scarcely was

His letter to Rosny.

[y] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 37.
[z] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 309.

reduced

reduced to greater extremities during his exile on the Continent, when alternately soliciting the bounty of Cardinal Mazarin, and of Don Louis de Haro. From the camp before Amiens, in the subsequent year, Henry writes again to the same minister, "The officers will no longer serve, for "want of money: give some directions like- "wise about my stables, and as to what is "necessary for my cloaths; for I am absolutely "naked[a]." In another of his letters to Rosny, he beseeches of him to repay to his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrees, the sum of two thousand crowns, which his urgent necessities had compelled him to borrow of her[b]. We can hardly conceive any state more destitute; and we feel a degree of involuntary admiration for a prince, whose courage and magnanimity sustained him under circumstances of such depression.

Other letters to the same minister.

During the first five years of his reign, necessity, joined to respect for the memory of his predecessor Henry the Third, induced him to leave the exclusive management of the finances, in the hands of the Marquis D'O; one of the most profligate, rapacious, and extravagant courtiers of the age. His decease in 1594, liberated the King from the servitude and poverty in which D'O had held him. Sancy, who had rendered the most eminent services to the crown, and whose talents embraced the science of finance, as well as of arms; flattered himself with succeeding to the vacant post. But the enmity of Gabrielle d'Estrées frustrated his

Superintendance of D'O.

His death.

[a] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 359. [b] Ibid. p. 366.

hopes;

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Council of revenue.

hopes; and Henry, disgusted with a single Superintendant, entrusted the care of the revenue to a board, or council, at the head of which was nominally placed his cousin, the Prince of Conti. Finding nevertheless, after some years, that the incapacity, venality, and tardiness of the commissioners, left him in equal, or greater embarrassments than before; he determined to delegate to Rosny, the sole and exclusive management of the finances [c]. It was not till the year 1597, a short time previous to the memorable siege of Amiens, that he finally executed a resolution so beneficial to himself, and so salutary for the state. The measure, which produced a total alteration in the French revenue, forms an epocha in its history. We never can sufficiently admire the discernment, firmness, and wisdom of Henry, in first selecting such a minister; as well as in subsequently maintaining him against all the cabals of powerful and discontented men, with whom the court abounded. On the other hand, we are not less deeply impressed with veneration for Rosny's integrity, incorruptibility, and inflexible severity, in so exposed a situation. It required the rare combination of such a prince, with such a statesman, in order to extricate the crown and the kingdom, from a state of complicated, inveterate ruin.

Rosny, made Superintendant.

Effects of that measure.

Impediments

How numerous, and of what description were the obstacles to every operation of finance, we

[c] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 190—193, and p. 325—337, and p. 352.

may

may see in the writings, or memoirs of that illustrious minister. Princes, ladies, ecclesiastics, both Catholic and Hugonot; men of all ranks attacked him, and endeavoured to circumvent, to intimidate, or to corrupt him. But his principles of honor and loyalty, the exhortations of his master, sustained by the consciousness that Henry would reward his labours by every donation in the power of a grateful sovereign to bestow;—supported him under exertions of body and of mind, almost above the force of human nature. In the course of near twelve years, that he may be said to have enjoyed the supreme and uncontrouled management of the finances, that chaos gradually assumed a regular, and a beautiful appearance; emancipated itself from the incumbrances with which it was oppressed; and became the most solid support of the throne.

to his operations.

In 1597, every part of the royal domain, as well as the receipts arising from the ordinary revenue, were either engaged to foreign princes, in payment of sums borrowed during the civil wars; or mortgaged to the great nobility, and adherents of "the League," as the purchase of their fidelity and submission; or made over to military officers, as the reward of past services; or lastly, retained by the receivers and treasurers, who made out of their produce, advances of money to the crown [d]. If all the

State of the finances in 1597.

[d] Chron. Noven. vol. ii. p. 457, 458. Tavannes, p. 312, 313. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 403.

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debts contracted by Henry the Fourth antecedent to the treaty of Vervins, within and without the kingdom, had been immediately discharged in full; his neat annual revenue remaining, would not have exceeded seventy-five thousand pounds Sterling[e]. Such were the enormous abuses practised, that we find almost all the members of the council of finance, were in their own persons, the purchasers and the holders of the various branches of revenue. If they allowed others to participate in the spoils, it was not till their consent was bought; and the highest officers of state, even the Chancellor himself did not blush to accept pecuniary considerations, for selling, or rather for plundering the treasury.[f]

Abuses.

First steps of Rosny.

Rosny began his arduous work, by ascertaining the frauds committed in the value affixed to the taxes farmed of the crown, which he found to produce double the sum at which they were rated in the reports made by the Council. Having remitted all arrears of every kind, due from the subject to the Exchequer, up to the preceding year; he next issued a peremptory injunction to the inferior receivers and collectors thro'out France, to bring to the treasury the sums respectively paid into their hands. They were previously accustomed to carry those receipts to the great farmers general, who retained, or alienated a considerable part[g]. In

[e] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 428.

[f] Ibid. vol. i. tome i. p. 328, and p. 331—333, and p. 335—337, and p. 353, 354, and p. 403; and tome ii. p. 425.

[g] Ibid. tome i. p. 402.

defiance of obloquy and clamour, he then resumed the assignments of eleven, or twelve principal taxes, mortgaged to various sovereigns, and to some of the nobility; giving to each creditor, in place of the tax so taken away, an order on the treasury for the sum, at which the imposition had been originally rated. By this single alteration, he instantly augmented the annual revenue near three hundred thousand crowns, without doing injury or injustice to any of the individuals. [h]

Resumption of mortgaged taxes.

We may judge how great were the frauds committed, by the instance of the Constable Henry de Montmorency, who owned that he only received four thousand, five hundred crowns a year, from the produce of an imposition in Languedoc, of which he was possessed previous to the resumption made by Rosny. That minister farmed it immediately afterwards, for twenty-five thousand crowns [i]. In 1603, the Count of Soissons, a prince of the blood, obtained from Henry, whose ignorance upon matters of trade or finance, rendered him easily the dupe of artifice and importunity; a donation of the profits to arise from a duty of fifteen sous, or seven-pence halfpenny, upon every bale of linen coming into, or going out of the kingdom. The Count estimated the annual value of the present, at no more than from four, to five thousand crowns: but Rosny having shewn the King by accurate calculations, that, besides the detri-

Augmentation produced by it.

[h] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 404.

[i] Ibid. p. 403.

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ment arising to commerce from such an imposition, it would raise near a hundred and fifty thousand crowns a year, Henry revoked the grant.[k]

Taxes solicited by the courtiers.

Monopolies, exclusive patents, and taxes, were solicited by the nobility and ladies of the court, for their private emolument, under Henry the Fourth, with at least as much importunity as they had been during the reign of his predecessor; but happily for the people, not with equal success. Rosny, by his remonstrances, prevented a list of more than twenty from being published at one time. The Marchioness of Verneuil, who was one of the suitors, stood sixth in priority among the names inscribed[l]. The Queen herself, Mary of Medicis, did not disdain to accept bribes, in order to facilitate the registering and passing taxes. She received a sum in 1604, considerably exceeding three thousand pounds Sterling, with the privity of Rosny, to obtain the publication of an edict for augmenting the salt tax in Languedoc.[m]

Bribes.

Resources, called out by Rosny.

Such was the rapid and incredible effect of a system of enlightened œconomy, rigidly prosecuted during a few years, that it dispelled all the darkness which covered the finances. France, well administered, soon recovered from the confusion and oppression caused by civil war, added to dissipation and relaxation of government. It is not without a degree of incre-

[k] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 177, 178. [l] Ibid. p. 178.
[m] Ibid. p. 231.

dulity

dulity and astonishment, that we contemplate the vast resources called out by Rosny. In the space of only eight years from his appointment to the Superintendance of the finances, he informs us, that he had liquidated the sum of three hundred and seven millions of Livres, due either to foreign states, or to the principal members of "the League," or to various individuals within the kingdom. We cannot estimate it at less than thirteen millions of pounds Sterling[n]. The debt owing to Elizabeth, Queen of England, exceeded two hundred and eighty thousand pounds; and that due to the Swiss Cantons, was five times greater in amount[o]. Henry became necessitated, in order to disarm the numerous chiefs of "the League," to pay them not less than the aggregate sum of one million, three hundred thousand pounds Sterling[p]. Villars alone demanded and obtained, besides a long list of employments or gratifications, the incredible sum of fifty thousand pounds for the payment of his debts, together with full two thousand, five hundred pounds annual pension[q]. If the relative value of money in that age, as compared with the present, be considered, we shall be lost in contemplating the magnitude of these sums. Yet as early as 1604, Rosny had already laid up above a million Sterling in specie, which he lodged in the Bastile.[r]

Debts of the crown, liquidated,

to foreign states,

and to "the League."

[n] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 348.
[o] Ibid. p. 347.
[p] Ibid. p. 348, 349.
[q] Ibid. tome i. p. 134.
[r] Ibid. tome ii. p. 203.

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The "Gabelle," or tax upon salt, in the same year, was farmed at no less than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds[s]. In January, 1610, a few months before the King's assassination, he possessed in ready money, near thirty-seven millions of Livres, which we may estimate at more than a million, five hundred thousand pounds[t]. No European prince of that age, could boast of a similar treasure: it seems indeed difficult to say, what limits could have been opposed to the power of Henry, aided by such a minister as Sully, if he had not imposed a restraint on his own ambition, and manifested a desire to extend his empire by moderation, rather than by force. Philip the Third succeeded to an exhausted, disjointed, and impoverished monarchy, overwhelmed with a vast debt, from which he possessed neither talents nor exertion to extricate Spain. Elizabeth, Queen of England, effected all the great enterprizes of her reign, by systematic frugality; but the paucity of her revenues incapacitated her for accumulating treasures. James, her successor, with more extended dominions, found himself involved in augmented embarrassments, which the profusion of his character was calculated to encrease. Rodolph the Second was, it is true, individually rich: but the inaptitude of that Emperor for all public business, the dissensions existing in the imperial family, and the con-

Treasure amassed by Rosny.

Vast power of Henry, in 1610.

[s] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 276.
[t] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 471—473.

tempt

tempt into which he was personally fallen; — these causes rendered him unable to make effectual opposition to the attack on the house of Austria, meditated by Henry the Fourth. Europe was unquestionably at the eve of a vast revolution, when his assassination took place.

Severity of the taxes.

It was not possible for human wisdom or ingenuity to produce in the limited space of only twelve years, alterations at once so radical and so beneficial, in the revenue and finances of France, without imposing severe burthens on the people. Rosny, however meritorious in his general conduct, seems always to have had for his primary object, to elevate and enrich his master: the protection and alleviation of the subject, though uppermost in his professions, were ever subordinate to the aggrandizement of the crown. He admits, himself, in some measure, the justice of the accusation[u]. Among the most unpopular taxes invented and levied, was that impost denominated the "Pancarte." It had been granted for only three years, by the "Notables," assembled in 1596, at Rouen; consisting in an imposition of a Sous, or half-penny in the Livre, on every commodity, at its entrance into a town. Lists of the duties to be taken, which were affixed at the gates of cities, excited universal discontent. The tax was arbitrarily continued, after the expiration of the term for which it had been originally given, tho' the urgent necessity for it no longer existed.

The "Pancarte."

[u] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 421.

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Exasperated by a treatment so severe, the inhabitants of Guyenne and Languedoc, in 1602, refused to pay the "Pancarte;" and at Limoges, as well as at Rochelle, in 1605, open insurrections took place. The presence of the King, accompanied by a tribunal of justice, which made some examples of the most mutinous, quelled indeed, the sedition; while Rosny induced the people of Rochelle to submit ostensibly to the imposition. But Henry nevertheless found it expedient to abolish the tax, before the close of the same year.[x]

Its effects,

and abolition.

If the "Pancarte" gave rise to such dangerous commotions, the "Paulette" proved not less pernicious, by its operation on morals and justice. It originated in 1604, and was attributed exclusively to Rosny. Previous to that time, all officers of civil and criminal judicature thro'out France, might resign their posts, and substitute any other person in their place: but, in order that the resignation should be valid, it was requisite that the individual quitting, should survive his surrender, forty days; otherwise the right of nominating to the vacancy, reverted to the crown. Rosny, with a view to derive a considerable accession of wealth to the treasury, issued an order, by which all legal offices and employments were assured to the widow and heirs at large of the late possessor, on the annual payment to the King, of the sixtieth part

The "Paulette."

Its nature,

[x] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 231, 232. Chron. Septen. p. 284. D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 382.

of

of the sum, at which the office was valued. The natural and inevitable effect of such a regulation, was to render the highest judicial situations at once venal and hereditary. The persons occupying them, no longer felt any dependance on, or any apprehension of the sovereign authority. Neither virtue, talents, nor application, could conduct to legal dignities: money, which alone procured them, perpetuated them in certain families, or transferred them as an object of sale. Those who purchased, necessarily conceived themselves free to sell, not only their place, but justice itself, in order to recover the sum which it had originally cost to acquire possession. De Thou declaims with honest indignation, against an institution which degraded the sanctity and majesty of the laws, perpetuated chicane, and prostituted to ignorance the honors and rewards, from which capacity or merit were excluded. It is impossible to justify, and still more difficult to approve the motives, which induced Rosny to propose, and Henry to promulgate, an edict of so nefarious tendency.[y]

CHAP. I. 1589—1610. and pernicious consequences, on morals.

One of the circumstances characteristic of the period under our consideration, which excites as much amazement, as it awakens concern, is the notorious inequality with which the pecuniary burthens were imposed on the people. While the privileged orders, peculiarly the clergy and

Inequality of the taxes,

[y] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 324—326. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 310—314. Jour. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 93, 94.

the

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the nobles, were exempted from almost all personal contributions, except such as held to the feudal system of military vassalage; the wretched peasant was reduced to indigence, trampled on, and loaded with taxes beyond his ability of furnishing to the State. In some provinces, this exemption of the upper classes, and oppression of the inferior, became so tyrannical, as to exceed the patience of men, however inured to despotism. The inhabitants of Dauphiné, who suffered in an especial degree from it, ventured to appeal to the justice of the crown, against the intolerable hardships of every kind under which they groaned. The cause, after a delay of many years, being solemnly argued before the council, sentence was pronounced in the King's presence. It took place in 1602. All the exemptions enjoyed by the higher orders, were confirmed; while the people, or third estate, were condemned to pay exclusively every contribution levied throughout the province, on goods, cattle, and articles of merchandize. The profession of the law entitled to the same privileges, as did the rank of a noble, or as the ecclesiastical character secured, in virtue of this decree. We can never sufficiently reprobate the spirit of injustice which dictated it; nor enough lament the cruel tyranny exercised on the husbandman, the mechanic, and all the lower class of subjects. It required nevertheless, the exertions of a government as well established and as vigorous as that of Henry,

in Dauphiné.

Decision on the appeal of the people.

Henry, to enforce obedience to his edict, and to prevent an insurrection thro'out Dauphiné. [z]

During his whole reign, the great contractors, receivers, and farmers general, were objects not only of continual obloquy, but of frequent prosecution. Their prodigious wealth, the luxury in which they lived, and their excesses of every kind, naturally exposed them to popular indignation [a]. Zamet, one of the most distinguished among them, with whom Henry lived on terms of uncommon familiarity; entitled himself, in the contract of marriage drawn up for his daughter, "lord of eight hundred and fifty thousand crowns [b]." Repeated and almost periodical enquiries were set on foot, between 1597 and 1605, in order to compel these opulent defaulters to refund their acquisitions. But, the riches which they had amassed, formed their best protection against punishment; and by purchasing the favor of the crown with a small part of their depredations, they quietly retained the remainder. Such proved the invariable issue of all the commissions instituted for bringing them to justice; which might in reality be considered only as inventions for raising money, in moments of public exigency. [c]

Wealth of the farmers general.

Zamet.

Enquiries into their conduct.

[z] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 116—119. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 192—205.

[a] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 261, 262.

[b] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 144. Confession de Sancy, liv. ii. chap. i. Remarques, 326.

[c] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 324, and p. 448, 449. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 59. and p. 165, 166. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 28. Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 216.

If

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Insecurity of public property.

If any species of public property in that age, could be esteemed sacred and protected by the national faith, it was the interest of the sums advanced on the mortgage of the revenues, which interest was paid by the town-hall of Paris. Yet we have seen that in 1596, Henry seized on four thousand crowns of those funds[d]. Philip the Second, King of Spain, some years earlier, as a powerful inducement to the States-General, to elect him "Protector of the king-"dom," specifically engaged "to place in Paris, "a sum equal to eight hundred thousand "pounds Sterling, as a security for the future "discharge of the arrears payable at the town-"hall[e]." It appears, that about fifty-two thousand pounds annually were levied from the church, for the sole and exclusive purpose of paying the creditors. In 1596, the ecclesiastics endeavoured to elude so heavy a contribution: but the King, far from excusing them, obliged the assembly of the clergy to engage for the continuance of it during ten years, in order to pacify the inhabitants of the metropolis[f]. Rosny in 1604, made some regulations, with a view to facilitate the payments; and at his suggestion, Henry attempted not long afterwards, to institute an enquiry into the origin and validity of the respective annuities, or debts. It was intended to reimburse such, as were proved to have been fairly and legally contracted; to suppress the

Taxes levied on the clergy.

Enquiry projected by Rosny.

[d] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 147.

[e] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 287.

[f] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 598.

defec-

defective or unjust ones; and to reduce the interest of all the annuitants, from ten per cent. to six and a quarter; the rate at which interest for money had been fixed by an edict, issued in 1601. A court, composed of magistrates, or persons of eminence in the law, was appointed for the purpose. The King found himself compelled nevertheless, to abandon a project, which, whatever advantages it might promise to the crown and to the nation, must have been obtained by the injury of a number of individuals, and a breach of public faith. A sedition was on the point of breaking out in Paris, if the government had not appeased it, by assurances of stopping all further proceedings against the owners or possessors of money, issuing out of the town-hall [g]. No similar attempt was renewed under Henry the Fourth.

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and dropped.

The current coin appears thro'out his whole reign, to have been in a state of great debasement; and the evil was of too inveterate a nature, to admit of easy redress. During the anarchy of the civil wars, governors of castles and towns arrogated with impunity, the right of striking copper pieces, with which the kingdom was inundated [h]. Mendoza, the Spanish embassador, during the siege of Paris in 1590, caused vast quantities of half Sous or farthings, to be coined, which he distributed by handfuls to the

Coin.

[g] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 23, and p. 205. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 444—446. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 333—335. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 141, 142.

[h] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 24. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 384.

populace.

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populace. They bore the impression of the arms of Philip the Second, and continued long in circulation[i]. Almost all the gold used thro'out France, seems to have been that of Spain; namely, pistoles, ducats, and doubloons. We scarcely find mention made of any other[k]. In 1595, such was the deficiency of gold or silver coin, that Villeroy informs us, he was obliged to employ seventeen carts or waggons, in order to transport a sum of about twelve thousand pounds, from Lyons to Dijon, for the payment of the royal forces. The whole remittance was made in copper[l]. During the siege of Amiens, two years afterwards, Rosny employed seventy waggons, to carry about sixty thousand pounds, from Paris to the royal camp; the far greater part of the money being composed of the same metal.[m]

Spanish money.

Want of gold, or silver coin.

It formed an object of that minister's incessant and vigilant attention, during his whole administration, to prevent the transport of specie, particularly gold, out of the kingdom. He made some seizures of considerable magnitude, before he could check the practice[n]. In 1602, with a view more effectually to counteract it, he raised the value of the coin. The half-crown was encreased from thirty pence, to thirty-two pence halfpenny; the other inferior coins being

Augmentation of the value of money.

[i] Satyre Menip. vol. ii. Remarques, p. 362. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 166.

[k] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 120; and tome ii. p. 19, and p. 23.

[l] Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 193.

[m] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 331. [n] Ibid. tome ii. p. 19.

aug-

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augmented in proportion. No foreign money, except that of Spain, was admitted in circulation[o]. At the same time he induced the King to adopt another financial measure, the effect of which appears to have been very disputable. The edict of Henry the Third, promulgated in 1577, enjoining that all accounts should be kept, and all pecuniary transactions made by "Ecus," or half crowns, was abrogated; the "Livre," an imaginary money, of about ten-pence halfpenny value, being substituted in its stead. De Thou, whose testimony must be regarded as much more impartial than Rosny's, arraigns the solidity of the principles, upon which so essential a change was introduced, and attributes to it a number of very pernicious consequences. It is difficult to determine on the respective validity of the arguments or assertions[p]. The mode of reckoning by Livres, has however subsisted invariably during the course of more than two centuries, which have already elapsed. The national assembly, which between 1789 and 1795, systematically overturned all the institutions of antiquity; gave new names to towns and cities; abolished the antecedent divisions of time; divided France by new geographical denominations; and renounced the Christian era itself, in order to

Change in the mode of accounts.

Reflexions on that measure.

[o] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 383. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 19, and p. 54.

[p] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 55. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 111. 112. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 383, 384. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 201, 202.

date

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date from the commencement of their republic; yet either did not venture, or did not think fit to make any alteration in the received practice of keeping accounts, or in the name of the current coin. Their late Corsican Emperor pursued the same line of action; and tho' he substituted the "Napoleon d'Or," for the "Louis d'Or," he left unchanged the nominal standard of commercial transactions.

Nature of military service.

The nature of military service underwent an efficient and radical, though a silent and progressive change, under Henry the Fourth. During the period of the civil wars, and of those carried on against Philip the Second, it held to the principles of the feudal system. The King was followed to the field by his nobility, who served from loyalty, and quitted the camp at discretion; or retired, when domestic avocations demanded their presence. Their vassals and retainers constituted the strength of armies. Stipendiaries from Switzerland and Germany, together with auxiliary troops from England or Holland, which augmented the national forces, might with more propriety be considered as personally depending on the sovereign. The wants, disorders, insubordination, and mortality, among these undisciplined and heterogeneous masses, impeded their operations, as well as incapacitated them for enterprizes of duration. They were neither paid, cloathed, nor subsisted, except as the accidents of war, and the opportunities of plunder, afforded means. We find them frequently described as nearly in a state of

Wants of armies.

of nudity, wanting common food or necessaries, and only prolonging a precarious existence, by pillage and violence [q]. De Thou expressly declares that the King was principally compelled to withdraw his forces from before Paris in 1590, on the approach of the Duke of Parma to its relief, "because his infantry was almost naked, "without hats, shoes, or shirts; and their ne- "cessities of every kind such, that for a little "money, they would not only permit convoys "of provisions to enter the place, but even "privately aid and facilitate their introduc- "tion." Similar or greater distress existed among the troops of Lesdiguieres, in Dauphiné, in 1594, and 1596. Contagious distempers, famine and wounds, soon diminished the most flourishing armies. No hospitals, and few medical aids were known. The first regular hospital, properly so denominated, seen in France as attached to an army, and maintained by the crown, owed its establishment to the humanity and precautions of Rosny in 1597, when Henry besieged Amiens. [r]

Distempers.

Previous to the treaty of Vervins in 1598, no large bodies of men were ever retained under the standard. It became impracticable to prevent their disbanding, when assailed by the united force of hunger, nakedness, and the

Difficulty of retaining them.

[q] Villeroy, vol. ii. p. 437—439. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 381. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 359, and p. 362. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 69, and p. 147, and p. 186-7; and vol. xii. p. 327, and p. 612. Davila, p. 1088.

[r] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 353; and tome ii. p. 429. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 400.

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inclemency of the elements. The nobility, impelled by honor, hurried to participate in the glory and danger of an action; but they abandoned the camp with the same precipitation, when the occasion was past. Every year furnishes examples of this fact. Even on the stay of the foreign and mercenary forces, no reliance could be placed; though they were usually better paid, and were indulged in many excesses, in order to attach them to the service. Yet they frequently quitted the prince in whose employ they had enlisted, plundered the sutlers, imprisoned their commanding officers, and either marched back into their own country, or entered into the ranks of the opposite party [s]. During the wars of "the League," between 1589 and 1595, when every effort was exerted on both sides, while Spain, Germany, England, Flanders, and Italy, sent assistance to one or the other; the numbers were few, compared with those brought into the field by Louis the Fourteenth, or the still greater levies with which the conscription has rendered Europe familiar in the present century. The largest army of which we find mention, was conducted by Mayenne against Henry, before Arques, in 1589. It exceeded twenty-eight thousand infantry and cavalry. The King on the other hand had not above seven thousand troops of all descriptions, under his command. [t]

Foreign troops, mutinous.

Armies, small.

[s] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 437, 438, and p. 41.

[t] Davila, p. 841, and p. 845.

At

CHAP. I. 1589—1610. Examples.

At the memorable battle of Ivry, fought in the following year, Henry could only collect about eight thousand foot, and three thousand horse: his antagonist was at the head of four thousand, five hundred cavalry, and near twenty thousand infantry. Nearly a fifth part consisted of Germans, or Walloons and Spaniards [u]. The most considerable army which Henry was ever able to assemble, seems to have been in September, 1590, when after raising the siege of Paris, he marched to meet the Dukes of Parma and Mayenne. He had near twelve thousand French infantry, and six thousand foreign foot; besides five, to six thousand cavalry, of which more than two-thirds were gentlemen. But it dissolved in a few days, leaving him almost without protection for his person [x]. Carabineers, properly so denominated, first appeared in France at Ivry, where Count Egmont brought four hundred to the aid of "the League." They were Walloons, well armed and mounted, commanded by the Viscount de Tavannes. Their novelty, and the promptitude of their movements, rendered them formidable to the royalists [y]. Two years later, at the combat of Aumale, we find that Henry had dragoons in his army [z]; and it appears that they had been

Carabineers.

Dragoons.

[u] Davila, p 890, and p. 892.
[x] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 378—382.
[y] Davila, p. 890. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 332.
[z] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 19.

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known under the preceding reign, as early as 1585. [a]

1589—1610. Change of system.

How great an alteration had taken place in the composition of armies, before 1610, we may see in Sully. When the King projected to march towards Juliers in that year, he no longer relied either on the courage, or the adherence of his nobility, for success. He knew that only regular troops, constantly paid by the crown, could enable him to contend with the house of Austria. The different bodies actually raised and fit for action, amounted to forty-four thousand foot, a thousand volunteer horse, and four thousand, six hundred cavalry in pay [b].

Pay of troops.

We find that in February, 1610, the daily pay of a common foot soldier was eight Sous, or four-pence; that of a serjeant, five-pence [c]. If we consider the relative value of money, we shall admit that it was ample. Henry, in a letter to Sully, expressly enjoins him to give that sum to all the recruits, "in order," says he, "that they may not commit any violence "upon my people." [d]

Tactics.

The science of tactics, in particular, the use and practice of artillery, advanced equally with the other improvements of the military art. The number of cannon in the armies of the crown and of "the League," during the civil wars,

Artillery.

was very limited. At the battle of Ivry, in

[a] Memoires de la Ligue, tome iii. p. 39, 40. Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 90.

[b] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 469.

[c] Ibid. p. 474. [d] Idem, ibid.

which

which the whole strength of the two parties was drawn out, the King had only four cannon, and two field-pieces. Mayenne, though greatly superior in military force, was yet even inferior in artillery to Henry[e]. When Paris was besieged in 1590, the utmost exertions of the Duke of Nemours, commanding in the place, aided by the contributions of the citizens, who voluntarily gave up all their culinary vessels of copper, which were cast into cannon; could only furnish sixty-five pieces of ordnance, of various sizes and descriptions. They were disposed along the ramparts, and over the gates, in the places most liable to attack[f]. In 1597, the whole artillery of France fit for use, fell below forty pieces of cannon, which the King had sent to Amiens, together with a hundred thousand pounds weight of gunpowder. Villeroy, then Secretary of State, declares, that when Porto-carrero having soon afterwards surprized Amiens, rendered himself master of these cannon, there remained not a single piece mounted, in the King's possession.[g]

Condition of it in 1597.

Such was the deplorable condition of the ordnance, when Rosny was placed at the head of that department. His first care was exerted to provide twenty pieces of artillery, which were sent to the royal camp before Amiens, with the requisite apparatus for conducting them, ac-

Efforts of Rosny.

[e] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 327, and p. 330.
[f] Ibid. p. 355. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 166.
[g] Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 209.

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companied by sufficient powder and ball for three thousand discharges[h]. As early as the month of July in the same year, four cannons were cast at the foundery in the arsenal of Paris, of which three were forwarded to the King. We may see in Sully's Memoirs, the anxiety expressed by him for their arrival, and his vexation at finding that the fourth had been sent elsewhere[i]. The arsenal, even in 1599, after the conclusion of the peace of Vervins, remained in such a state of disorder, so totally destitute of artillery, stores, or ammunition; that Rosny was ashamed and unwilling to permit Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, then at Paris, to see the wretched condition of so important a branch of the national defence. He broke, as he informs us in his Memoirs, near five hundred officers and clerks, when he entered on his functions as Master General; the greater part of whom were only servants of financiers, and of persons in legal employments.[k]

State of the arsenal in 1599,

How rapidly the department assumed a new aspect, is evident from a consideration of the short war waged with Savoy, in the autumn of the same year. Notwithstanding all the impediments necessarily arising from an advanced season, and a mountainous country, covered with snow; Rosny found means to transport above forty battering cannon over the Alps, with which he compelled the surrender of Montmelian, of Fort St. Catherine, and many other for-

in 1604,

[h] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 335.
[i] Ibid. p. 359.
[k] Ibid. p. 423.

tresses.

tresses[l]. As early as 1604, there were collected in the arsenal, two hundred cannon; arms for fifteen thousand infantry, and three thousand horse; two millions of pounds of gunpowder, and a hundred thousand bullets[m]. In 1606, when Henry marched against Sedan, he was accompanied by fifty pieces of artillery, admirably furnished and served[n]. At the time of his death, the royal arsenal abounded in every species of military weapon, ordnance, and ammunition[o]. We could scarcely believe, on less authority than Sully himself, that he had provided four hundred cannon of the first size, all mounted, equipped, and ready for action; with two hundred thousand ball of the same dimensions. Four millions of pounds of powder were laid up in casks. Arms for thirty thousand infantry, and for eight thousand cavalry, together with the requisite pistols, accompanied them[p]. Europe might justly tremble at a prince, who possessed such means of offence, aided by such a minister; especially if we reflect that the throne of Spain was then filled by Philip the Third; that Rodolph the Second reigned in Germany; and that Elizabeth had been succeeded by James the First.

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and in 1610.

Many changes and improvements were made in the science of war, between the accession

Military improvements.

[l] Sully, tome i. p. 443, and p. 447—454. D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 473, and p. 476.

[m] Ibid. tome ii. p. 230. [n] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 35.

[o] Ibid. p. 446, and p. 466, and p. 469.

[p] Ibid. vol. i. tome ii. p. 431.

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and the death of Henry the Fourth. Field pieces, or Culverins as they were called, owed their invention to Charles Brise, a Norman. Two of them, which accompanied the royal cavalry at the combat of Arques in 1589, excited such surprize and terror among the enemy's horse, by the celerity with which they made their discharge, and the ease with which they wheeled off; that they contributed in an eminent degree, to the advantage obtained on that day over the troops of "the League[q]." Pistols, which had long been gaining ground, were altogether substituted for lances, among the cavalry, early in Henry's reign: but this innovation, far from being considered as salutary or useful, was deplored and condemned by the ablest commanders[r]. In 1590, bomb shells are described by Cayet, as having been thrown into Nimeguen, by Maurice, Prince of Orange: we do not find however any mention made of them as existing in France[s]. The art of mining made considerable advances. At the siege of Dreux in 1593, an Englishman who served in the royal army, contrived, with a very small quantity of powder, to shatter and open the great tower, which formed the principal defence of the place. The science which he displayed, and the astonishing effect of his skill, drew applauses from the troops, while it reduced the besieged to surrender[t]. Tactics and engineering, as founded on mathematical principles, began to be studied by the French

Field pieces.

Bombs.

Mines.

Engineering.

[q] Davila, p. 852.
[r] Ibid. p. 893.
[s] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 392.
[t] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 276, 277, and p. 390.

nobility.

nobility. Chatillon, son to the great Admiral Coligny, who displayed at an early period of life, uncommon talents for war, led the way to these scientific researches, in which he distinguished himself[u]. The capture of the city of Chartres in 1591, was principally, if not entirely due to a machine of his invention, which facilitated the approach of the soldiers under cover, to the very foot or entrance of the breach.[x]

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Notwithstanding so many progressive steps made in the art of war, the French, not only at the close of the sixteenth century, but during the whole reign of Henry, continued to be far inferior in this respect to the Spaniards. No general of the period under our review, could emulate the fame of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, who equalled in celebrity the greatest captains of antiquity. His two expeditions, undertaken successively for the relief of Paris, and of Rouen, both which objects he accomplished under infinite disadvantages, arising from the incompatibility of the two nations and the different commanders, covered him with military glory. His passage of the river Seine, so near its mouth as Caudebec, in sight of a pursuing army led on by Henry himself, seemed to partake of prodigy; and perhaps eclipses every performance which can be placed in competition with it, from the earliest times. The siege of Antwerp by Far-

Inferiority of the French, to the Duke of Parma.

[u] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 417.

[x] Ibid. p. 416. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 208. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 62.

nese,

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nese, may vie with that of Tyre by Alexander; and formed a far more arduous undertaking than the subjugation of Rochelle, effected by Richlieu, under Louis the Thirteenth. Spinola who justly succeeded to a considerable portion of Farnese's talents and reputation, maintained the same discipline among the Spanish bands.

Spanish infantry,

The infantry of Philip the Second and Philip the Third, which for more than half a century had spread terror over Europe; and which, under the reign of Henry the Second, as well as under that of Henry the Fourth, had nearly accomplished the destruction or subversion of France; was composed of all the various nations subject to Spain, from the extremities of Calabria and Sicily, to the banks of the Schelde and of the Rhine. They partook in no degree of the inherent defects and vices, inseparably attached to military service on the feudal principles. Constantly retained under the standard, and employed uninterruptedly during more than forty years, from 1567 to 1609, against the Dutch, on the Palæstra of the Netherlands, they became superior to the infantry of every other nation. The poverty of the Spanish kings, exhausted by the gigantic and ruinous ambition of Philip the Second, leaving their troops nevertheless frequently unpaid; compelled them, sword in hand, to extort by menaces, insurrection, and devastation, their hard-earned arrears. These frequent mutinies, which aided the common enemy in no small degree, proved highly instrumental towards the final emancipation of the Dutch Republic.

how excellent.

Mutinies.

The Duke of Parma studied and conducted war as a science, to the attainment of which sublime art, mathematical, geographical, and even historical aid became indispensable. When he entered France on his two successive expeditions, he advanced by regular marches, encamping after the manner of the Romans, reconnoitring carefully his ground, with the chart constantly in his hand[y]. He carried with him a train of twenty pieces of cannon, pontoons for constructing two bridges, and fifteen hundred carts of ammunition[z]. His troops neither quitted their ranks to straggle, nor to plunder; severe discipline preventing the commission of any excesses. So great was the veneration of the soldiery for his person and talents, that even the want of pay could not shake their obedience[a]. The French being defective in all these particulars, it followed as a consequence, that in every operation which demanded skill, subordination, or science, Farnese invariably succeeded. The admirable order of his infantry was such, that the elder Biron thought no advantage of ground or position, could justify or enable Henry the Fourth to attack them with a prospect of success[b]. When the younger Biron, impelled by his courage, ventured to charge the Spaniards, while on their retreat into Flanders in 1590, he had nearly expiated his temerity with his life; and it required the utmost exertions of the King

Conduct of the Duke of Parma, in his expeditions.

[y] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 464.
[z] Davila, p. 948.
[a] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 488.
[b] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 234.

him-

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himself, at the head of the choicest of the French cavalry, to effect his extrication. [c]

1589—1610. Encomiums of Henry, on the Spanish infantry.

Seven years afterwards, the army which under the Arch-duke Albert, had unsuccessfully attempted to throw supplies into Amiens, retired in open day, in presence of the whole royal horse, commanded by Henry in person. The French were repulsed in every charge they made, by the superior firmness and order of the Spanish foot; which body of men it appeared so impossible to break or disorder, that the King burst into involuntary expressions of astonishment and admiration. Davila says that he openly protested, "no other soldiers in the "world could perform so much; and that if he "possessed their infantry, joined to his own ca- "valry, he would not fear to make war against "the whole earth [d]." They long continued during the seventeenth century, to support the same reputation, and to preserve the same military pre-eminence.

Decay of the French navy.

It excites some degree of surprize, to find that even at the close of Henry's reign, France still remained totally destitute of any navy. Sully had re-established the finances, and the ordnance. The King personally superintended the military department; but the marine sunk into complete oblivion. He seems to have maintained some gallies in the Levant, for the protection of commerce [e]: but neither at Toulon, nor at Brest, neither in the Mediterranean, nor

[c] Davila, p. 967.
[d] Ibid. p. 1471.
[e] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 336.

on

on the Atlantic, could he be said to possess a naval force[f]. Rochfort had not then been created. That port arose under Louis the Fourteenth and Colbert. When Mary of Medicis, on her marriage with Henry, embarked from Leghorn for Marseilles, she was escorted solely by Tuscan and Maltese gallies.[g]

Commerce.

The French commerce and navigation, in common with all the other arts of peace, were fallen into a state of the lowest depression, at the conclusion of the sixteenth century. Scarcely any revenue was derived from the customs or duties levied on articles of merchandize; nor can we wonder at the fact, when we reflect that the crown became unable to extend even the smallest protection to the trading part of its subjects[h].

Piracies.

Piracies were committed with impunity in the narrow seas. Commercial treaties, it is true, subsisted between France and England; but they were so advantageous to the latter power, and so onerous or injurious to the former nation, that Henry, in the instructions delivered to Rosny, when sent as embassador in 1603 to James the First, enjoins him to remonstrate strongly on that point, with the English court[i]. He even asserts, however incredible the fact may appear, that the depredations sustained by his subjects, from those of Elizabeth, since his accession, and particularly since the peace of Vervins, for which not the slightest compensa-

Depredations of the English.

[f] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 259.
[g] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 667, 668.
[h] Davila, p. 1434.
[i] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 93.

tion

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tion had been made; exceeded in value one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds Sterling [k]. He adds, that tho' the Queen promised indemnification and redress, yet that they were never obtained; the necessary consequence of which terminated in the entire ruin and extinction of the French trade with England. It appears that before 1601, the ships of Elizabeth had not only emancipated themselves from the antient practice and necessity of trafficking in all the ports of the Levant, under the flag of France; but, that they extended their protection to Flemish and Dutch vessels, which navigated the Archipelago under English colours. Henry made warm, tho' as it would seem, ineffectual complaints of the fact, to Mahomet the Third, Sultan of the Turks. [l]

Levant trade.

Right, claimed by England,

That the English government, during Elizabeth's reign, arrogated and maintained the right of compelling ships of every nation and description, to lower their colours in the British channel, is incontestable. Perhaps it is not quite so clearly ascertained, that the French acquiesced in the validity of the pretension; tho' motives of policy or of necessity might induce them to submit to it on certain occasions. In 1603, when Rosny came over as embassador from Henry to James the First, every testimony of affection and respect was exhibited towards him, by the English admiral commanding in the straits of Dover. Rosny embarked on

[k] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 93.
[l] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 85.

board

board his vessels, and the most cordial amity seemed to subsist on both sides. But no sooner did de Vic, as vice-admiral of France, approach with the French flag flying at his main-top-gallant-mast-head, than the Englishman instantly pointing near fifty cannon at his ship, prepared to sink her. It required all the exertions of Rosny, to prevent hostilities taking place. De Vic, at his desire, pulled down the French colours, tho' not without reluctance and menaces. We are ignorant whether James avowed, or disavowed the proceeding. [m]

in the British channel.

Philip the Second, among the other lures which he held out, to amuse the States and people of France in 1589, with a view to procure from them a recognition of the title of "Protector of the kingdom;" expressly engaged for admitting all French subjects without exception, to carry on trade with Peru, and the other countries situate on the Pacific Ocean, as well as in the East Indies. It was further stipulated, that they might either enter into partnership with Spanish and Portugueze merchants, or engage in separate adventures, as they might judge most profitable [n]. His successor Philip the Third, in 1601, laid a duty of thirty per cent. on all commodities imported into Spain, being of the growth or produce of France. The same measure was embraced by Albert and Isabella, thro'out the Netherlands. Irritated at a proceeding so detrimental to the interests

Promise made to the French, by Philip the Second.

Duty laid by Philip the Third.

[m] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 105, 106, and p. 109. Chron. Septen. p. 411.

[n] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 288.

of

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of his people, Henry by proclamation prohibited all intercourse whatever between his subjects, and those of the Catholic King, or the Archduke[o]. Such nevertheless were the profits annexed to the exportation of grain from France, that no penalties could repress it; and vast quantities were clandestinely shipped on board English or other vessels, from the Port of Les Sables d'Olonne on the coast of Poitou, to St. Sebastian in Biscay[p]. After this interruption of commerce had subsisted above three years, to the infinite loss and injury of both nations, an accommodation taking place, trade was resumed between them[q]. Duties on the entrance of foreign vessels into French ports, denominated anchorage money, began to be levied by the King's order, about the year 1602, in imitation of England and Spain, where they had been earlier established[r]. Little improvement seems to have been made by the French, in the art of navigation. The Dutch alone, before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, were acquainted with the secret of sheathing ships. As early as 1598, they used lead for that purpose, with which they covered their largest East Indiamen.[s]

on French goods.

Accommodation.

Colonization.

Colonization made some feeble attempts to discover, and to plant the North American con-

[o] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 218, and 223. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 218. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 297, 298.
[p] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 245. and p. 255.
[q] Ibid. p. 275—281.
[r] Ibid. tome ii. p. 71.
[s] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 446.

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tinent, after the termination of the civil, and foreign wars. As early as 1598, the Marquis de la Roche, a Breton nobleman, set sail for Cape Sable, the southern point of Acadia, where he safely arrived: but receiving no support from the crown, he abandoned to their fate, a colony which he had left on that inhospitable coast[t]. Early in the ensuing century, De Mons, a gentleman of Saintonge, having obtained from the government an exclusive privilege of importing and vending furs, which was intended as a compensation for the risk and expence of his projected voyage; embarked anew for the island of Cape Breton, near the entrance of the river St. Lawrence. He met with a prosperous navigation across the Atlantic. His little squadron consisted only of two vessels, the largest scarcely exceeding one hundred and fifty tons burthen. De Mons having entered the St. Lawrence, ascended it near eighty leagues, and constructed a fort on its banks. But, occupied more in search of mines, than in quest of furs, his crew and the adventurers who had accompanied him, perished, the far greater part, of scorbutic distempers. Little national benefit resulted from the attempt[u]. Sully discouraged and disapproved all expeditions of colonization, made to the north of the fortieth degree of latitude; esteeming the rigour of the climate insupportable, or the productions of those portions of the earth, to be of little value[x]. Yet in 1606, Poutrincour, who had

[t] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 330, 331.
[u] Ibid. p. 331—336.
[x] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 182.

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accompanied de Mons in his voyage, returning again to Canada, passed the winter there, entered into connexions with the Indians, and made farther discoveries relative to the surrounding country. He returned from Cape Canso to St. Malo, in the autumn of 1607.[y]

Little advantage derived from them.

Canals.

If Sully appeared adverse to foreign expeditions of discovery, he extended the warmest patronage to projects for internal navigation. At his suggestion, and under his immediate superintendance, a canal was begun for joining the rivers Seine and Loire. After having been continued during several years, and near forty thousand pounds expended on it, the King's death interrupted its completion; and Mary of Medicis was more occupied in measures for the preservation of her own authority, than in enterprizes of general utility. The work thus abandoned, was resumed at a subsequent period[z]. Even the celebrated junction of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, executed by Riquet under Louis the Fourteenth, which contributed to immortalize that Prince's reign, was sketched and proposed as early as 1604. Cayet, a contemporary writer, assures us, that an engineer undertook, on payment of a penalty in case of failure, to complete the communication from sea to sea, across Languedoc, and to open it for boats of a certain size, within the space of a year, for the inconsiderable sum of

[y] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 14—17.

[z] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 291; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 277, and 278. Chron. Sept. p. 449. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 317.

only

only five thousand pounds sterling. He does not specify however the reasons which delayed, or prevented the accomplishment of so beneficial an undertaking. [a]

Manufactures.

Manufactures of every kind, whether those of necessity, or of refinement, appear to have made the most vigorous efforts, and a rapid progress, during the short, but auspicious period of tranquillity, which intervened from the beginning of the seventeenth century, down to the close of the reign under our review. So destitute was France in 1599, of fabricks ministring to luxury, that Henry issued an edict prohibiting the importation of foreign silks, on account of the prodigious sums annually sent out of the kingdom for their purchase. The inhabitants of the city of Tours, who had extorted from him this prohibition by importunity, undertook to supply all the national demand for silk, as well as for gold and silver stuffs: but experience proved how much they had mistaken their own powers. Early in the following year, 1603, the King was obliged to rescind the edict, and to permit the entry of the interdicted articles [b]. Henry had embraced very opposite opinions and modes of thinking, from those entertained by his first minister, on the subject of the arts and manufactures connected with luxury. Sully, content with preventing by vigilance, the exportation of specie, pro-

Prohibition of silks.

Repeal of the edict.

Difference of Henry's,

[a] Chron. Sept. p. 449.

[b] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 427. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 330—332. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 434.

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posed no measures for attracting to France, the superfluous money of the surrounding countries. The King desired by every possible mode, to draw into his dominions the gold of Spain, Italy, Germany, and England. Sully wished to banish expence and refinement, by restraining the inordinate profusion in dress and tables; thus bringing back the nation to the simplicity and frugality which characterized the times of Charles the Eighth, and Louis the Twelfth. Henry, more enlarged in his views, and conscious of the impracticability of such attempts, limited his ambition to enriching his subjects by the fabrication of those commodities, the use of which it was in vain to prohibit them. Sully, vanquished, but not convinced, slowly and reluctantly complied with the injunctions of his master [c]. We may see with what importunity the King was obliged to solicit him to issue even the smallest sums from the treasury, to foreign artists, who on the faith of the royal word, had quitted their native countries, in order to commence manufactures in France. [d]

and of Sully's views, relative to the arts of luxury.

Prejudices of Sully, respecting silk.

On the article of silk, Sully appears to have adopted or imbibed the most insurmountable, as well as unjust prejudices. Conceiving that the climate of France would not permit an insect so delicate as the silk-worm to be reared; he dreaded lest an occupation so sedentary and inactive, should gradually impair the cou-

[c] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 180, 181.
[d] Ibid. tome ii. p 328; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 88, and p. 121.

rage,

rage, or enervate the martial character of his countrymen. Henry deriding these imaginary apprehensions, persisted in his resolution [e]. As early as 1603, temporary buildings were constructed at Fontainbleau, at the castle of Madrid near Paris, and at the palace of the Thuilleries, for the reception and protection of the silk-worms. Mulberry trees for their nourishment, were planted in various provinces; particularly in the vicinity of Paris, Orleans, Tours, and Lyons. The government caused pamphlets, written upon the art of cultivating the mulberry tree, as well as upon the nature of the means to be used for preserving the silk-worm, to be printed and distributed among the people. A board, or council for the affairs of commerce, was instituted, and every means adopted which might give energy to the undertaking [f]. In 1605, we find the King procuring silk-worms from Valentia in Spain [g]. He had the satisfaction to contemplate before his death, the complete success of his endeavours, and the progress made by his subjects in so lucrative a branch of art. Vast sums were retained in the kingdom, and foreigners began to repair to Lyons, which city soon became enriched by the manufacture. The southern provinces of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence, derived from it, in the course of only seven years after its

Introduction of that manufacture.

Its beneficial effects.

[e] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 181.

[f] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 140, 141. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 455, 456. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 278. Chron. Sep. p. 410.

[g] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 324.

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establishment, greater profits annually, than arose from the joint produce of their oil, wines, and woad, the antient natural productions of the country. [h]

Various fabricks, commenced.

Nor did Henry limit his attention to a single branch of commerce. His munificence, aided by the industry of the nation, repaired the calamities of the three preceding reigns.

Tissues.

Gold and silver tissues of different kinds, of exquisite beauty, were manufactured at Paris by Milanese workmen, whom he had induced to settle in the capital, under his immediate protection [i].

Gobelins tapestry.

The Gobelins tapestry, of such unequalled delicacy, so admired in the present age over all Europe, was begun in one of the suburbs of the metropolis, under the direction of artists from Flanders [k].

Looking-glasses.

Looking-glasses, in imitation of the mirrors cast at Venice, of which some specimens had been formerly made at St. Germain, under the reign of Henry the Second, were again undertaken with success at Paris, and at Nevers [l].

Earthen-ware.

Earthen-ware, both white and painted, was fabricated with the same beauty as in Italy [m].

Crapes.

We may infer from a passage in Sully, that the art of enamelling had attained before 1603, to a very considerable degree of perfection [n]. In the castle of Mantes,

[h] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 456.
[i] Chron. Sept. p. 409.
[k] Chron. Sept. p. 409, 410. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 142. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 88, and p. 104.
[l] De Thou, ibid. Chron. Sept. ibid.
[m] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 142.
[n] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 190.

situate

situate upon the Seine, crapes, equal in durability to those of Bologna, were woven; and a manufacture of Dutch linen was begun [o]. The inferior classes of people at Paris, found employment in the great fabricks established in the suburbs of St. Honoré and St. James, where gilt leather was made for the furniture of houses [p]. Mills for cutting and splitting iron, which had antecedently been done by the hand, were set up on the river of Estampes: while steel, which was previously procured from Piedmont, at two-pence halfpenny, or three-pence a pound, began to be manufactured in the suburb of St. Victor in Paris. Serres, a native of Provence, discovered a method of making ropes, and even of weaving a kind of coarse linen, with the bark of the white mulberry-tree. Ferrier, an inhabitant of the suburb St. Germain, carried to a perfection previously unknown, the art of making leaden pipes and spouts for conducting water. White lead, an article which had always been imported before the reign of Henry the Fourth, at a great expence, was prepared and sold at a very moderate price [q]. Tontouchio, a Siennese gentleman, acquired a rapid fortune, by the possession of a secret for restoring to pearls their original beauty and transparency, however injured by time or accident. Such were the

Gilt leather.

Steel.

Other inventions.

Restoring pearls.

[o] Chron. Sept. p. 450. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 121.
[p] Idem, ibid. [q] Idem, ibid.

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profits derived by him from this discovery, that he refused a sum of above twelve hundred pounds sterling, to divulge his invention. [r]

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State of the peasantry.

While the middle order of citizens or subjects, employed in commerce and mechanical pursuits, advanced thus progressively in industry, wealth, and refinement; the wretched peasantry alone, chained to the soil by the feudal tenures or regulations, remained at the mercy of their superiors. During the period of the civil wars, when the authority and protection of the crown were in a great degree subverted; the barbarities practised by the petty tyrants, who, secure behind the battlements of their castles, pillaged and desolated the surrounding country, exceeded belief. We know that they seized, imprisoned, ransomed, and even tortured the objects of their resentment or rapacity, without dread of punishment [s]. In addition to these acts of lawless violence, the husbandman was plundered by the soldiery of both parties; while the tax-gatherer completing his ruin, exacted the last scanty earnings of his labour. Henry, touched with compassion for the sufferings of so oppressed a class of his subjects, endeavoured as early as the beginning of 1591, to adduce some remedy, and to procure some alleviation for their misery. By an edict published in that year, he forbad on pain of death, to enroll the peasants without his

Their oppression.

Edicts issued in their favor.

[r] Chron. Sept. p. 452.

[s] Satyre Menip. vol. i. p. 98. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 354.

royal

royal permission; to take their cattle, provisions, or money; to ransom their persons, or to compel them to work on the fortifications, unless in virtue of an order signed by one of the secretaries of state, addressed to the treasurers of France[t]. Four years afterwards, in 1595, the King issued a second prohibition, of the same nature and tendency: but neither of them could eradicate a disease inherent in the essence of the feudal system, grown to maturity by a long series of war and anarchy[u]. The peasants derived in fact little, if any benefit, from these nominal regulations.

Revolt of the peasants.

Rendered desperate by oppression, about the middle of the year 1593, they rose in great numbers, along the banks of the river Dordogne, thro'out Guyenne, and all the adjoining provinces. The name of "Croquans" was first given them, the derivation of which term is disputable: afterwards but they were called "Tard-aviséz," in derision of their taking up arms too late, when the rest of the nation, weary with civil dissension, desired only peace[x]. Henry, conscious that their complaints were just, observed with a degree of humour, that "if he had not been a King, and that he had "possessed a little more leisure, he would have "turned "Croquant," himself[y]." Unfortunately they began, as they have uniformly

Their excesses.

[t] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 353, 354.
[u] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 109.
[x] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 352. D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 382. De Thou, vol. xii. p 72.
[y] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 33.

done

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done in almost all insurrections, by committing equal or greater excesses, than those of which they complained. As they amounted to between thirty and forty thousand, furnished with arms or weapons, it became requisite to disperse them; but the enterprize was found difficult, at a time when the crown could spare little or no assistance for the purpose. During a period of more than two years, they maintained themselves in the western provinces lying between the Loire and the Garonne. The disunion which spread among them from the difference of religion, aided by an attack made on them by some cavalry, diminished their numbers. Henry, for whom they appear to have professed and felt the warmest loyalty, completed their subjection by listening to their complaints, and by remitting the arrears of taxes which they were unable to discharge. More fortunate than their countrymen the "Gautiers," exterminated a few years earlier, by the Duke of Montpensier, they insensibly sunk into oblivion, and resumed their original occupations[z]. The wisdom and vigor of the government, together with the paternal attention manifested by the King for the inferior classes of his people, rendered their condition, during the last ten years of his reign, comparatively and progressively happy. We may see innumerable instances or proofs of the fact in Sully, and in all the writers of the period.

Disunion,

and extinction.

[z] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 382—384. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 72, 73. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 351—356.

Paris,

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Paris, at the time when it was delivered up to Henry by Brissac, in 1594, presented in every quarter, the most hideous proofs of the ruin and devastation produced by the preceding troubles. Scarcely could that metropolis, two centuries later, in 1794, under the sanguinary tyranny of Robespierre, have exhibited a scene of greater moral distress; and it forms matter of curious remark, that these awful political convulsions seem to visit France almost periodically, at the distance of about two hundred years. However fanciful, or exaggerated the observation may at first appear, a review of the French history for many ages past, would tend to confirm the assertion. At the end of the siege laid to the capital in 1590, all the monuments of learning, piety, and magnificence which had existed within its walls, were either destroyed or polluted and defaced. The royal ornaments and Regalia preserved in the treasury of the abbey of St. Denis, being seized on by the Duke of Nemours, were melted down to supply the wants of "the League[a]." Even the jewels of the crown were stolen, or secreted, or sold to various individuals, precisely as took place on the deposition of Louis the Sixteenth; and as the deposed Corsican Emperor appears to have done in 1814. The gold crown of Charles the Bald, guarded as a valuable remain of the Carlovingian Dynasty of kings, which had escaped the rapacity of the English, under Edward

Ruinous state of Paris.

Sale of the Regalia of the crown,

[a] Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 48, and p. 154.

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the Third and Henry the Fifth, was involved in the common wreck [b]. So complete became the annihilation of all the Paraphernalia of the regal dignity, that Cayet informs us, no part of it escaped; and at the coronation of Henry the Fourth, a new crown, sceptre, together with other necessary ornaments, were made in place of those which had been alienated or removed [c]. The palace or castle of the Louvre, which during the troubles was entrusted to the care of one Olivier, an obscure partizan of the house of Guise; destitute of furniture, was entirely dismantled [d]. It had been defiled and dishonoured by the execution of four members of the "Coun- "cil of sixteen," hanged in the great hall of the palace, by order of the Duke of Mayenne.[e]

and of the church ornaments.

The fury of rebellion did not respect even the vessels and shrines serving for sacred uses, or which contained the relics of saints and martyrs. Superstition itself could afford no protection against rapacity; and they were carried to the Mint, on a promise, never accomplished, of restoring them in three months [f]. The Papal Legate advised and exhorted to commit this sacrilegious act. During the course of the siege, above fifty thousand persons perished by diseases; a number which may be estimated at a fourth

[b] Chron. Nov. vol. i p. 367. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 608.
[c] Chron Nov. vol. iii. p. 324. [d] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 152.
[e] Conf. de Sancy, p. 277, and p. 299. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 503. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol i. tome i. p. 83, 84. D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 234.
[f] Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 367. Sat. Men. vol. i. p. 110. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 162, 163.

part

part of the whole population. Such was the extremity to which famine attained, that a species of paste, composed of human bones mixed with water, was greedily devoured, after every other species of nourishment had been exhausted. The people denominated it "Madame de Mont-"pensier's Bread," from its having been originally recommended by her, and by Mendoza, the Spanish embassador[g]. In consequence of the mortality and putrefaction, added to the intense heats of summer; snakes of a prodigious size and other reptiles, generating in the houses, preyed upon the carcasses in the streets. When we peruse these facts, we seem to be transported to Babylon, or to Nineveh. Yet it is impossible to doubt the accuracy of l'Etoile, who was himself in Paris at the time, and who particularizes all the circumstances. He adds another, scarcely less extraordinary; that Panigarole, a Franciscan monk devoted to Spain, who accompanied the Legate, being consulted by the Duke of Nemours, respecting the signification of these venomous animals; replied, "that it was an ef-"fect of magic, and an illusion of the infernal "spirit, to discourage the zealous Catholics."[h]

Expedients to nourish the people.

Effects of the famine and putrefaction.

The suburbs, which, if we may believe Villeroy, exceeded in the beauty of the buildings, and nearly equalled in size, the capital within the walls, were abandoned, pillaged, and destroyed[i]. Peasants and cattle sheltered them-

Destruction of the suburbs.

[g] Sat. Menip. vol. i. p. 109, 110. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 175—177, and p. 190. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 37.

[h] Journ. d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 38.

[i] Villeroy, vol. ii. p. 422. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 24.

selves

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selves in the university, which became a desert[k]. The courts of law, as well as the shops, were shut: while the principal streets were covered with grass[l]. It is said that the Duke of Parma having visited Paris in September, 1590, appeared to be deeply affected at the view of so depopulated and melancholy a metropolis[m]. Nor did the horrors of famine terminate with the siege. During several years, from 1590, down to its final reduction in 1594, the royal forces continued to blockade the city, to occupy the rivers by which it is supplied with provisions, and to levy contributions up to the very gates[n]. All the environs being desolated, the villages for many leagues on every side, became so destroyed, that in 1593, when the commissioners appointed on the part of the Crown and "the League," were desirous of fixing on a place in the vicinity of Paris for their projected conference; it was not till after a long search, that they could discover any village sufficiently habitable for their reception[o]. Even subsequent to the truce agreed on in the month of August of the same year, between the King and Mayenne, Henry persisted to exact such severe duties upon all commodities, particularly corn, wine,

Blockade of Paris.

Villages ruined.

[k] Sat. Men. vol. i. p. 446.

[l] Idem, ibid. and p. 107—110, and p. 155.

[m] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 467.

[n] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 229. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 116, and p. 127, 128. Sat. Men. vol. i. p. 155.

[o] Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 79. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 719. Chron. Nov. vol. i. p. 140.

and

and cattle, entering the metropolis, that the Parisians were reduced to great distress[p]. That it did not immediately recover from its ruined condition is evident; since in August, 1595, l'Etoile assures us, a wolf swam across the Seine from the southern bank, and devoured a child in the "Greve," one of the most central, as well as frequented squares of Paris[q]. This fact, from inferior authority, might be thought incredible. How insecure a residence it formed at that time, may be inferred from the incursions made by the garrison of Soissons. The Spanish soldiery occupying that place, continually advanced up to the very walls: they even had the audacity to enter the riding-house of the Tuilleries, from which they carried off prisoners, several gentlemen of quality, who, unsuspicious of danger, were amusing themselves in the exercises of the Manege.[r]

Depopulation.

Insecurity.

During the space of about twelve years which elapsed between the treaty of Vervins in 1598, and the close of Henry's reign, Paris rose more beautiful out of its ruins. Tranquillity and peace, aided by the munificence of the sovereign, not less than by the industry of its inhabitants, embellished the capital. Under Henry the Third, there existed only one bridge across the Seine, over which carriages of any kind could pass[s]. That, denominated the "Pont neuf," had, it is true, been

"Pont neuf" completed.

[p] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 229.
[q] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 104.
[r] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 483.
[s] Chron. Sept. p. 447.

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been begun; but the calamities of the kingdom having interrupted its completion, only two arches were finished. Henry the Fourth having resumed the work, in 1604 it was opened for passengers of every description [t]. Another of the bridges, the "Pont aux Meuniérs," had become so ruinous, that in December 1596 it collapsed and tumbled to pieces; near a hundred and sixty persons being suffocated or drowned by its fall [u]. The generosity of a private citizen, Marchand, commander of the archers of the city guard, rebuilt it, on condition that it should in future bear his name [x]. A quay was constructed along the northern bank of the river, from the arsenal to the "Greve [y];" while the southern side of the Seine began to be inhabited, and covered with buildings. Margaret of Valois resided, and held her little court, in that quarter of the town [z]. A short time before his death, Henry undertook to build a handsome street, extending in a South direction from the end of the "Pont neuf." He had previously executed a far more splendid work, the gallery connecting the two palaces of the Louvre and the Tuilleries, which had been planned, and its foundation laid, by Charles the Ninth. On the ground-floor it was intended to lodge and to

Other embellishments.

Gallery of the Louvre.

[t] Chron. Sept. p. 447. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 244, and vol. ii. tome i. p. 143.

[u] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 147. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 31.

[x] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 206, 207. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 31.

[y] Chron. Sept. p. 448.

[z] Vie de Marg. p. 397.

employ,

employ, at the expence of the crown, artists in every branch of elegant workmanship, invited from the various nations of Europe[a]. Miron, the first municipal magistrate of the metropolis, re-edified the town hall, adorned the streets with fountains, and rendered the city more commodious[b]. In this enumeration, it may not be unworthy of remark, that the "Temple," which served for the prison of the late unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth and his queen, was in 1594 a fortress garrisoned by Spaniards; and before 1610 seems to have been converted by Sully, into a magazine for gunpowder.[c]

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The 'Temple.'

The police of Paris was exceedingly defective, during the whole period under our review. It it nevertheless clear that precautions were adopted, and a regular assessment made upon the inhabitants before 1609, for the purpose of cleansing and paving the streets[d]. But no measures of energy or efficacy were pursued, to render the city salubrious, to clear it of vagabonds and beggars, or even to secure personal safety. Robberies, murders, and assassinations, were so frequent, and committed with such impunity, that L'Etoile says in 1605, "they could not have been perpetrated more "openly in a forest[e]." The "Pont neuf,"

Defective police.

Murders, and robberies.

[a] Chron. Sept. p. 448. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 217.
[b] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 335, 336.
[c] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 140, and vol. ii. tome ii. p. 4. Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 158.
[d] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 203. Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 196, and p. 278.
[e] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 91, 92.

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for many successive years during the time of its construction, became the scene of nightly depredation and crimes. It was a common event for passengers to be plundered, stripped, and precipitated into the river[f]. Ruffians at noon day frequently entered houses, and extorted money, with the dagger in their hand[g]. In the single month of January, 1606, above twenty dead bodies were found in the streets, having on them marks of recent violence; and in some, the poniard still remaining plunged[h]. The utmost severity of punishment imposed no restraint upon these enormities. In the hospitals of the metropolis, the sick and diseased appear to have been heaped together, without order or number, and to have perished from want of common care. Between the first day of January, 1596, and the tenth of the ensuing month, four hundred and sixteen persons expired in the "Hotel Dieu," the largest hospital of Paris; the greater part died of hunger, and absolute necessity[i]. In the following month of April, more than six hundred breathed their last in the same receptacle of misery and disease[k]. Even the patients who were discharged, being frequently turned loose upon the town, with the plague, or other infectious distempers on them, communicated those maladies to their fellow-

Bad administration of the hospitals.

[f] Confess. de Sancy, p. 488.
[g] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 139; and vol. ii. p. 91, 92.
[h] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 102.
[i] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 120.
[k] Ibid. p. 117, 118, and p. 128.

citizens.

citizens. Two hundred were thus dismissed at one time, in August, 1596[l]. Constantinople or Cairo could hardly have laboured under a more defective police, than did the capital of France at the close of the sixteenth century.

Poor laws.

Neither greater wisdom nor humanity seem to have been manifested, in the provision made for subsisting the poor, a description of people who were usually very numerous. In May, 1595, they flocked in such multitudes to Paris, on account of the scarcity and high price of grain, as to alarm the magistrates, who assembled repeatedly, with a view to concert proper measures for alleviating their necessities. By the inspection of the public registers it was shewn, that in fifteen days, above fourteen thousand beggars had entered the capital[m]. A considerable rate or tax was levied for their maintenance, on the citizens; but they returned in such crowds, some months afterwards, that they were at length ordered, by sound of trumpet, to quit Paris without delay[n]. The motive for this harsh decree, originated in the apprehension of their introducing and spreading pestilential distempers. We find in 1606, that the Irish vagabonds and beggars, who were very numerous, became so troublesome, as to give rise to a still more severe measure. Being all seized, they were put into boats on the Seine, guarded by archers, and transported down the river to

Numbers of poor,

and of beggars.

[l] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 139.
[m] Ibid. p. 97, and p. 99.
[n] Ibid. p. 125, and p. 127, 128; and vol. ii. p. 98.

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Rouen, there to be shipped off for their own country. L'Etoile says that they were far more expert in the profession of begging, than their companions, the French; and moreover highly renowned for wiping out the reproach of sterility from families [o]. The troops of the city of Paris, composed of citizens, analagous to our London trained bands, formed a body of about six thousand infantry; independant of the archers, cross-bowmen, and horse, who were placed under the immediate direction of the municipal magistrates. [p]

City guard.

Effect of the civil wars.

It formed an object of enquiry which naturally awakened the curiosity, while it occupied the researches of speculative men in the sixteenth century; to decide whether the civil wars which desolated France during five-and-thirty years, did, or did not eventually enrich the kingdom. Problematical or extraordinary as it may appear, they determined the question in the affirmative, after the most candid and impartial investigation. How prodigious were the sums of Spanish money poured into France by Philip the Second, we may judge from the testimony of his own embassador, the Duke of Feria; who declared in 1593, to the States General convoked at Paris, that his master had already expended above six millions of "Ecus," or half crowns, amounting to more than seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling, within the seven preceding

Immense sums expended by Philip the Second.

[o] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 115, 116.
[p] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 698.

years.

years [q]. Under Charles the Ninth's reign, he had previously disbursed not less than five hundred thousand pounds [r]. A very inconsiderable part of this wealth found its way out of the country, in the payments made to the Swiss and German stipendiaries: the rest remained in circulation. Such indeed was the rapid and astonishing increase of gold and silver, between 1560 and 1595, which may be said to include the whole period of the civil wars; that Brantome declares in many parts of his Memoirs, Pistoles and Doubloons were become more common in the end of Henry the Fourth's reign, than the smallest pieces of silver coin had been at the beginning of that of Charles the Ninth [s]. His testimony is confirmed by other writers of the same time.

Increase of gold and silver.

Besides the influx of foreign riches, many internal causes contributed to swell the mass of national specie. We have seen that the Duke of Nemours, during the siege of Paris, converted into coin, the Regalia of the crown, and all the jewels or decorations belonging to the kings of France. Brantome says that they were already become so precious, as to cover the Emperor Charles the Fifth with amazement at their value, when he viewed them in 1539, at the abbey of St. Denis. He declared, that

Internal sources of wealth.

Regalia.

[q] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 705. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 146.

[r] Satyre Menip. vol. iii. p. 560.

[s] Brantome, Cap. Fran. vol. iii. p. 199, and p. 201, 202; and Cap. Etr. tome i. p. 34. Tavannes, p. 371.

CHAP. I.

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"they were sufficient to pay the ransom of two "kings[t]." All the shrines, relics, and votive offerings contained in the churches thro'out the monarchy, were either plundered, and appropriated to their own use, by the Hugonots; or secreted and sold by the ecclesiastics themselves[u]. We may judge how universal was the pillage over all France, when we reflect, that with the single exception of Limoges, hardly a town or city of any consideration in the kingdom escaped being sacked, and that the greater number were subjected repeatedly to that calamity[x]. An immense mass of concealed, or dormant property, was set at liberty by the civil wars. The numerous description of men subsisting on their own fortunes, bankers, merchants, usurers, and priests, were all plundered by one or the other party, and usually compelled to purchase their lives, by a surrender of their hoarded gold[y]. The nobility and soldiery squandering with profusion, the spoils thus acquired, a vast transfer, as well as diffusion of property, took place.

Sacred ornaments.

Wealth of individuals.

Tavannes asserts that the province of Burgundy, which during six years, from 1589 to 1595, formed the theatre of unintermitted hostilities between the crown and "the League," being regularly laid under contribution by both sides; yet, far from being exhausted, abounded

Condition of Burgundy.

[t] Brant. Cap. Fran. tome iii. p. 204.
[u] Ibid. 204, 205.
[x] Vie d'Epernon, vol. i. p. 339.
[y] Brant. Cap. Fran. tome iii. p. 199, 200.

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in money, and would have continued so to abound, if the war had lasted thirty years. He explains his paradox, by acquainting us, that although not less than a hundred thousand pounds Sterling were annually exacted by the contending parties, from the inhabitants of the province; yet the money only changed hands, returning thro' the same channels, to its first possessors. "The soldier," says he, "pays to "the merchant and artizan, for various commo- "dities: they return the money to the hus- "bandman, for wine, bread, and forage; from "whom it is again extorted by the Gendarmes, "or troops[z]." But when Henry the Fourth entered Burgundy in 1595, he impoverished the country more in three months, than it had suffered by many years of preceding war, because he carried off the money and cattle.

The principal injury sustained by France, from the long and sanguinary dissensions which continued under four reigns, consisted in population, not in riches. But such were in that age, and such must ever remain, its innate resources; so advantageous is its local position on the globe; so fertile its soil; so happy its climate; so various are its productions; and such are the energy, industry, as well as ingenuity of its inhabitants; that no political changes or revolutions can permanently depress the country[a]. "I remember," says

Vast resources of France.

[z] Tavannes, p. 371.

[a] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 181.

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Brantome, "in the first civil wars, Rouen was "carried by storm, pillaged, and sacked during "several days. Yet when Charles the Ninth "and his mother passed through it, about fifteen or sixteen months afterwards; to their "astonishment, all traces of that calamity had "disappeared, and only opulence was visible[b]." Angouleme and Perigueux, he adds, two cities which were inhumanly destroyed by the Hugonots, and several times plundered; having recovered with equal rapidity, had even become more rich than before their misfortunes[c]. It is apparent from a consideration of these facts, that, however lamentable and destructive were the immediate effects of the civil and religious wars of France in the sixteenth century, their remote consequences proved in many points of view, beneficial to the nation. It will form the province of future historians to determine, whether the sanguinary race of republicans who in the eighteenth century extinguished the monarchy; who effected the entire change of landed, and almost of monied property; who spilt more blood than any of the tyrants of antiquity; and who seemed to emulate only the crimes of Greece and Rome; succeeded, as they have been, by a foreign ruffian risen out of the Mediterranean, covered with an Imperial mantle, for whose crimes and vindictive ambition the theatre of Europe was too narrow; may not,

Reflexions.

[b] Brant. Cap. Fran. tome ii. p. 202, 203. [c] Idem, ibid.

like

like tempests or hurricanes, purge the moral and civil atmosphere of France: and whether from the bosom of military despotism, conscription, and carnage, a new, as well as a more beautiful order of events may not finally arise under Louis the Eighteenth; as it did two centuries ago, under Henry the Fourth, in that impoverished, tyrannized, and depopulated country.

CHAP. II.

State of the Gallican church. — Abuses. — Seditious spirit of the ecclesiastics. — Sermons. — Jubilees. — Institution of new monastic orders. — Exile, and recall of the Jesuits. — Influence and power of that order. — State of the Hugonots. — Policy and measures of Henry towards them. — Decline of the spirit of persecution. — State of the parliaments, and of jurisprudence. — Venality of legal employments. — Ineffectual attempts to reform the abuses of the law. — Formation, proceedings, and general conduct of the parliament of Paris.

CHAP. II.

1589—1610.

THE Gallican church, in common with all the other institutions of civil and religious policy among the French, was plunged during the period of the civil wars, into the lowest state of humiliation and depression. Previous to the King's abjuration of the Protestant tenets, and resumption of the Catholic faith, the ecclesiastics may even be said to have suffered in an especial degree, from the general anarchy and dissolution of government. It must be ingenuously confessed, that their loyalty underwent a severe trial, when they were called on to pay obedience to a prince, labouring under the censures of the church of Rome, recently excommunicated, and avowedly the chief, as well as the protector of heresy. Yet,

Loyalty of the ecclesiastics.

Yet, under circumstances so calculated to shake their allegiance, a very considerable proportion of the clergy adhered invariably to the right of succession, in defiance of the prejudices of a superstitious age. The liberal and expanded maxims by which Henry, from the instant of his accession, conducted himself, relative to the Catholics; and the readiness which he uniformly manifested, to listen with docility to the arguments in favor of their doctrines; eminently conduced to allay the apprehensions of the timid, and to confirm the attachment of the well disposed among his subjects. His conduct forms an extraordinary contrast to the narrow and bigotted frame of mind exhibited a century later, by the son of James the Second.

Difficulties of their situation.

During the interval of near four years which elapsed between Henry's accession, and his return to the Romish profession, every calamity incident to rebellion and schism, afflicted the ecclesiastical order. Whether they obeyed the mandates of the sovereign pontiffs, who, from Sixtus the Fifth, down to Clement the Eighth inclusively, were more or less devoted to the cause of "the League;" or whether they complied with the requisitions of the Council of state appointed by the crown; they were alike subject to seizure, confiscation, and punishment.

Proposition, for erecting a patriarch.

Renaud de Beaune, Archbishop of Bourges, who had uniformly adhered to the King; projected as early as 1592, to terminate the contest between the regal and the papal power, by entirely withdrawing France from any dependance on the Romish

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Romish see. He proposed to name a Patriarch for the government and discipline of the Gallican church; aspiring himself, to fill in his own person, that eminent ecclesiastical dignity. It does not seem that Henry manifested any great aversion to the plan: but it was prevented by the exertions and remonstrances of the young Cardinal of Bourbon; who, unable from a variety of reasons, personally to occupy the post of Patriarch, would not allow it to be conferred on another. [a]

Abuses in the church.

All the abuses, added to depravity and dissolution of manners, which had degraded and dishonoured the ecclesiastical order, under the feeble, dissolute, or precarious administration of the three last princes of Valois; attained their utmost point of enormity, before the year 1595, from which period we may date the submission of the kingdom to Henry the Fourth. The impotence and necessities of the crown, the violence of two contending factions, and the universal relaxation of discipline, seemed to threaten the extinction of religion itself; for the purity and preservation of which, all parties equally pretended to combat. Cardinal Gondi, Bishop of Paris, stated to Clement the Eighth in 1592, among other particulars equally striking, that above forty bishopricks were then vacant; the temporalities of which were held and received by ladies, courtiers, and soldiers [b]. Even in January, 1596, when Henry's title was universally acknowledged, the clergy assembled

[a] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 495—497. Davila, p. 1123, 1124.
[b] Davila, p. 1135. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 507, 508.

at

at Paris, made, by the mouth of the Bishop of Mans, the strongest remonstrances to him; earnestly beseeching his vigorous co-operation for the reform of the grievances, or disorders of the church. They declared, that out of fourteen archbishopricks, six or seven were destitute of pastors; that from thirty to forty episcopal sees, stood in the same situation; and that of the remainder, the greater part were occupied by persons who either held them in trust for others, or had obtained them by illicit and prohibited methods[c]. The abbeys appear to have been in a state of still greater prostitution. In only twenty-five dioceses, about a hundred and twenty abbeys were vacant, or in the hands of gentlemen[d]. "Even children," say they, "who are still under the rod, and scarcely conscious of their own existence, are appointed "to the government of religious houses[e]." The assembly conclude by entreating the King to prohibit his military officers of every description, from quartering their troops or horses in the churches, or from levying contributions on their property[f]. Such petitions might have been presented to Cromwell, by the suffering church of England, during the period of our civil wars. Henry, equally affected and convinced by their supplication, issued an edict consonant to their desire: but the abuses were too firmly rooted, to be redressed or eradicated by any remedies except time, and the gradual confirmation of the royal authority.

Remonstrances of the clergy.

Improper nomination to abbeys.

[c] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 592.
[d] Ibid. p. 593.
[e] Ibid. p. 595.
[f] Ibid. p. 596.

Near

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Near three years afterwards, when the treaty of Vervins had restored tranquillity to the kingdom, the clergy having again renewed their complaints, the King replied to them in a manner equally conciliating, judicious, and dignified.

Answer of the King.

"I admit," said he, "the existence of the "abuses: but I am not the author of them; they "were introduced before I came to the crown. "During the war, I have run to extinguish the "fire wherever it blazed: now that we are in "repose, I will do what peace demands. I "know that religion and justice constitute the "pillars and foundations of this kingdom, and if "they did not exist, I would re-establish them; "but by little and little, as I do in every "thing else. With the assistance of God I will "replace the church in the same state that it "was a hundred years ago[g]." We cannot too much admire the sound sense and calm intelligence displayed in this answer. Henry appears to have partly fulfilled his promise, by nominating to the great ecclesiastical preferments, men eminent for learning, virtue, and talents. But the inferior benefices were in a great measure abandoned to the nobility, who considered them as a species of hereditary property; or were conferred on military men, who sold, mortgaged, and subsisted on the revenues[h].

[g] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 160—163. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 197, 198. De Thou, vol xiii. p. 220, 221.

[h] Satyre Men. vol. iii. p. 476. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 171, 172, and p. 394; and tome ii. p. 36; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 198, and p. 201. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 340.

Far from blushing at these acts of indecent venality, they seem to have considered such transactions, as matters of course. "I provided "my second son," says the Chancellor Chiverny in his Memoirs, "with four abbeys in "1596, by one and the same *Bull* from Rome, "with a dispensation for his age, as he was "only seventeen years old[i]." After entering into some detail relative to each, he adds; "As "to the Abbey of St. Pere at Chartres, it was "given by the King, during the civil wars, on "the death of the Chevalier d'Aumale the "Abbot, to Messieurs Roquelaure, de Fron-"tenac, and Bele, gentlemen in the immediate "service of His Majesty. They were all three "glad to procure, each a separate gratification; "and I was equally happy to recover the ab-"bey[k]." He tells us in another place, that he received from Gabrielle d'Etrées, the bishoprick of Chartres; out of the revenues of which see, he paid a pension of between three and four hundred pounds a year, to the celebrated historian De Thou[l]. Profligate as was the age of Charles the Second among us, the Lord Chancellor Clarendon would not have accepted from Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, the bishoprick of Worcester, or of Lincoln; nor would the nation have permitted such a scandalous prostitution to be made of dignities and honors in the church.

Examples.

[i] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 377, 378.
[k] Ibid. p. 380.
[l] Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 55—57.

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Even Hugonots were admitted, by a singular infraction of decorum, as well as contempt of religion, to occupy in their own persons, and to nominate to Catholic preferments in France[m].

Church preferments,

If any circumstance can increase the surprize natural at such abuses, it is to see that the popes themselves, instead of repressing, countenanced and facilitated their commission. Sully, an obstinate and incorrigible heretic, whom neither his sovereign's example nor entreaties could ever induce to change his opinions; yet possessed church benefices to the amount of above eighteen hundred pounds Sterling a year. He says, that "he named the "ecclesiastics who held them, not only with "the permission of successive pontiffs; but "that the *Bulls* were gratuitously expedited on "his request, from the Roman chancery[n]." In the enumeration of his property and possessions, he expressly states, that for four abbeys, publickly sold by him, with valid Papal *Bulls* issued for the purpose, he received a sum considerably exceeding nine thousand pounds Sterling[o]. Brantome, who is by no means the panegyrist of Henry the Fourth, and who seems on every occasion, partial to his predecessors of the family of Valois; yet confers on him the warmest encomiums, for rewarding so many brave French gentlemen, by the donations of abbeys and ecclesiastical preferments. It is

occupied by Hugonots.

Testimony of Brantome.

[m] Confess. de Sancy, p. 401, 402.
[n] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 415.
[o] Ibid. p. 417, 418.

exceed-

exceedingly entertaining to observe the manner in which he appreciates and speaks of the King's conduct on this point, as being dictated by his wisdom, beneficence, and just affection for a nobility who had bled in his cause. "It is "possible too," adds Brantome, "that he may "have acted thus, from the inspiration of those "generous shades and spirits, who, compas- "sionating their unfortunate descendants, have "propelled the King to make them compen- "sation for the riches formerly lavished by "themselves on the church [p]." We must admit that Brantome, though himself a zealous Catholic, had imbibed no superstitious reverence, nor blind veneration, for the ecclesiastical order.

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The spirit of insurrection which had so strongly characterized and pervaded the clergy, regular, as well as secular, during the reign of Henry the Third; continued long to animate them under his successor. The pulpit became a vehicle of sedition, and every Anathema which rage or malice could dictate against the sovereign, was uttered by the preachers. We can with difficulty conceive the effect of these invectives and declamations, upon an illiterate, superstitious audience, accustomed to rebellion, and animated almost to frenzy against heresy. The grossest epithets, as well as the most indecent scurrility or ribaldry, were not spared; the populace on many occasions, being openly ex-

Seditious declamations, from the pulpit.

[p] Brantome, vol. i. Cap. Fran. p. 263, 264.

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cited to assassination and regicide. The holy Scriptures were ransacked and perverted, in order to furnish arguments or examples of crimes; while the epithets of Holofernes, Moab, and Nero, were respectively applied to Henry the Fourth. Commolet, one of the popular preachers, declaiming in the church of St. Bartholomew, at Christmas, 1593, before a numerous audience of Parisians; after exalting with extravagant eulogiums, the merit of Henry the Third's murder by Clement, thus addressed them. "We must have an Aöd! We must "have an Aöd! Let him be a monk, a soldier, "a sutler, or a shepherd, no matter which [q]." Even the King's abjuration, and return into the bosom of the Catholic church, neither mollified, nor diminished their fury. Boucher, Curate of St. Benedict's church at Paris, pronounced nine discourses, composed on "the pretended and "false conversion of Henry of Bourbon," in the same year 1593; and he soon afterwards printed them, with a dedication to the papal Legate, the Cardinal of Placentia [r]. Guarin, a Savoyard Cordelier, nearly at that time, exhorted his flock to "address their supplications "to God, that he would not permit the Pope, "who was always conducted by the Holy "Ghost, and who could never err in the faith, "to be touched with Henry's submissions, or

Commolet's discourse.

Boucher.

Guarin.

[q] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 383, and p. 385. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 251.

[r] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 35.

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" to grant him absolution [s]." We may see in De Thou, every particular respecting the attempt of Ridicoux, a Dominican friar, to assassinate the King, in 1599. He was expressly suborned, employed, and enjoined to perpetrate this flagitious act, by Malvezzi, the Papal Nuncio at Brussels. [t]

The pontifical power itself, which diffused such terror in that age, was nevertheless incapable of imposing silence on the clergy devoted to " the League." Aubry, Curate of St. Andrew's church at Paris, preaching on the 5th of September, 1590, announced the death of Sixtus the Fifth, as a miraculous interposition of Providence. " God," added he, " has deli- " vered us from a wicked and temporizing " pope. If he had lived longer, you would " have been much surprized to have heard him " preached against in Paris; but it must have " been done [u]." It formed a common practice, to exhort, and to compel the audience to lift up their hands, in token of approbation and obedience [x]. Nor did the insolence of the ecclesiastics from the pulpit, terminate with the existence of " the League," and the cause of rebellion. It continued to the end of Henry's reign, in defiance of every effort made by the crown and the parliaments, for imposing a re-

Aubry.

Ineffectual endeavours to suppress it.

[s] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 35. [t] Ibid. vol. xiii. p. 417—423.

[u] Maimbourg, Hist. de la Ligue, liv. iv. Satyre Men. vol. ii. p. 207.

[x] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 458, 459.

CHAP. II. straint on so dangerous an engine of sedition [y]. The vices, weaknesses, modes, and general deportment of the great, constituted by turns, the subject of their reprehension or abuse; while Paris was divided between contending preachers, who strove to gain, and to retain, the ascendant over the populace [z]. Dress formed a frequent, and a fertile theme for their comments.

1589—1610.

Suffren. Suffren, a Jesuit, declaiming in the church of "Notre Dame," on the ninth of March, 1610, against the luxury and immodesty of females in that article; observed that "there was not "a single coquet in Paris, however obscure or "insignificant, who did not shew her bosom,

Gonthieri. "in imitation of Margaret of Valois [a]." Gonthieri, another favorite preacher, only a short time before Henry's assassination, unrestrained by any consideration for his person or dignity, ventured to apostrophize him in a manner the most indecorous. The King, accompanied by the Marchioness of Verneuil, his mistress, having entered the church; "How long, Sire," exclaimed Gonthieri, "will you come here, "surrounded with women, as in a Seraglio [b]?" It does not appear that any punishment was inflicted on him, for such a breach of respect towards the sovereign. We must however candidly admit, that so gross an outrage on decency

[y] Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 9, 10; and vol. ii. p. 133.

[z] Jour. d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 6, and p. 15, 16. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 86.

[a] Vie de Marg. p. 401, note. [b] Le Grain, liv. viii. p. 432.

and

and religion, merited some reprehension. Louis the Fourteenth, dissolute as he might be esteemed on the article of women, yet never went publickly to mass with Madame de Montespan, or the Duchess de Fontanges. As little did Madame du Barry accompany Louis the Fifteenth, to the royal chapel at Versailles.

After the submission of the metropolis to Henry in 1594, many of the priests and monks not only refused to pray for him publickly, but they denied absolution to all such individuals without exception, as followed the royal party. The exhortations of the Archbishop of Bourges, accompanied by several eminent prelates, proved ineffectual to alter their conduct; till the rector and members of the university of Paris concurring in the same sentiment, threatened the refractory ecclesiastics with exemplary punishment[c]. Even as late as 1606, not a Breviary or Missal in all France, contained the accustomed prayer for the King; and it became necessary for the various parliaments of the kingdom, to enjoin, and to compel its insertion, under severe penalties[d]. When we consider these facts, it will no longer excite astonishment, that so excellent a prince should nevertheless have perished by the hand of Ravaillac.

Secresy attached to oral confession.

The nature of oral confession was regarded as so sacred, during the period under our consideration, that it superseded and extinguished all moral obligations, as well as every duty due

[c] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 149—151.
[d] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 119, 120.

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from the subject to the State. Not even the preservation of the life of the sovereign from the murderous knife of an assassin, was supposed to justify, in the opinions of ecclesiastics, the disclosure of secrets entrusted to them in the confessional chair. It is impossible to prove and exemplify this assertion so forcibly, as in the circumstances attending Barriere's design of killing Henry the Fourth. That fanatic had consulted, on the moral rectitude of his determination, a secular priest, and Father Seraphin, a Dominican monk. The last-mentioned person, shocked at the intention of Barriere, and unable to convince him by argument of its detestable tendency, anticipated the crime by sending intelligence to the court, in consequence of which the criminal was seized and put to death [e]. The King having been informed erroneously, that Barriere, instead of simply consulting Seraphin on the propriety of the act, had communicated it to him in confession; said to the monk, when he was soon afterwards presented to him by Villeroy, Secretary of State, "My good father, Barriere had revealed to "you his wicked intention in confession, had "he not?" The Dominican, somewhat agitated at the question, instantly replied, "Sire, "do not imagine it; I would not have di-"vulged it in that case, for any consideration "in this world! I know of what consequence "is the seal of the sacrament of confession, "for the glory of God, the good of the church,

[e] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 238, 239.

"and

"and the safety of individuals. Barriere only "proposed to me his intention, by way of "asking my advice and opinion[f]." We must admit that it was impossible to avow more boldly or unequivocally his resolution, rather to have permitted Barriere to murder the King, than to have violated the secrecy attached to confession. Such was the ferocious and misguided fanaticism of the age. The civil tribunals, however, which entertained very different sentiments on the subject, would unquestionably have considered Seraphin as an accessory and accomplice of Barriere.

Veneration for the apostolic see.

How superstitious a veneration was still preserved in France, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, for the institutions of the apostolic see; and how generally that sentiment prevailed throughout all orders among the French; we may judge from the incredible number of devotees, who repaired to Rome in the year of Jubilee 1600. Cayet says, that twenty-four thousand individuals of that nation were present at its opening; and that in the course of the year, not less than three hundred thousand of both sexes, made the long and perilous journey over the Alps, to reach the holy city. Clement the Eighth, who then filled the pontifical chair, while he shed tears of joy, expressed the most fervent satisfaction, at such proofs of zeal and Catholicism[g]. This astonishing eagerness of the French to gain indulgences,

Prodigious concourse of French, to the Jubilee.

[f] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 241.

[g] Chron. Sept. p. 192.

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appears the more singular, when we know that Spain, a country proverbially bigotted and obedient to the successors of St. Peter, only furnished about six hundred pilgrims during the same year [h]. Henry, who in order to prove the sincerity of his conversion to the Catholic faith, omitted none of the external ceremonies which it enjoins, accompanied the Queen in 1601 to Orleans; where indulgences, by the Papal permission and authority, were accorded to all who should visit the church of the Holy Cross [i]. That the pontifical treasury derived no inconsiderable advantage from the crowds, who eagerly flocked to the antient capital of the world on these occasions, is evident from the frequent renewal of jubilees, upon the most trifling pretexts. In 1608, Paul the Fifth again instituted and celebrated a Jubilee, the ostensible object of which was to implore the Divine assistance for uniting the Christian princes, and for extirpating heresy [k]. Tho' it totally failed in accomplishing either of those salutary ends, it unquestionably answered the intentions of the court of Rome in its celebration.

Advantages derived from them, by the popes.

As if France, at the conclusion of the sixteenth century, was not already sufficiently provided with monastic institutions of either sex; five new orders were introduced and established in the kingdom, during the short period between 1596, and the end of the reign under our re-

Establishment of new monastic orders.

[h] Chron. Sept. p. 192.
[i] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 274, 275.
[k] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 185.

view.

view. The "Recollets," who led the way, obtained a footing not without difficulty, and after many contests with the Cordeliers. They equally followed the rule of St. Francis, being mendicants in the strictest sense of the term [l]. Mary of Medicis, soon after her arrival from Italy at Paris, introduced and settled the "Fratri ignoranti," under her immediate patronage. The title assumed by them, which originated in their affected modesty, did not prevent their attaining to very considerable knowledge on many points, peculiarly in the practice of pharmacy. Their institution even promised some active and beneficial exertions for society; as, besides praying for the souls of the departed, they professed to lodge the traveller, to attend the sick, to furnish them with medicines, and to perform the rites of sepulture [m]. Toulouse, a city recorded in every age for its superstition; memorable for the tragical history of "the "Calas family," in our own times; founded the "Feuillantines" within its walls: a female order, into which soon afterwards entered the young and beautiful Marchioness of Belle Isle [n]. Touched with so exemplary a renunciation of worldly vanity, her sister the Duchess of Longueville, aspired to emulate and to exceed the pattern of mortification exhibited by the Marchioness. Not content with simply immuring herself in a cloister, her ambition

"Recollets."

"Fratri ignoranti."

"Feuillantines."

[l] Chron. Sept. p. 457. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 86—90.
[m] Chron. Sept. p. 457, 458. [n] Idem, ibid.

impelled

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impelled her to become a foundress. Her imagination, heated and disordered by perusing the legend of Sta. Theresa, a Spanish lady who had instituted the order of the bare-footed "Carmelites;" represented to her in vivid colours, the merit of effecting the introduction of those nuns into France. Her enthusiasm, which spurned all impediments, finally surmounted every obstacle. Five nuns being conducted from Castile to Paris, by a solemn delegation appointed for the purpose; a convent was soon opened in the metropolis for their reception.[o]

"Carmelites."

Louisa of Lorrain, Queen-dowager of Henry the Third, a weak, but blameless princess; as some consolation to herself, for not having perpetuated the crown in the family of Valois, projected to secure a celestial diadem, by giving birth to a new religious order, of which she meant to become a member in her own person. Death having anticipated her pious purpose, which devolved on her sister-in-law, the Duchess of Mercœur, the latter procured the Papal permission for founding the "Capucines." As it appeared nevertheless to be indecent and improper, that females should individually solicit eleemosinary donations, the obligation of begging for them, was imposed on their brethren the Capuchins. But, those holy fathers, justly conceiving that it furnished employment sufficient for their activity, to provide subsistence for themselves from the voluntary benevolence of man-

"Capucines."

[o] Chron. Sept. p. 458, 459.

kind;

kind; refused to take on their own shoulders, the additional burthen of supporting the new sisterhood. The peremptory injunctions and interference of the Holy See, became requisite to surmount their repugnance, and to procure their submission to so harsh a mandate. [p]

Jesuits.

All these minor institutions of Catholic superstition, were swallowed up and lost in the fame of the Jesuits. That celebrated order, which owed its formation to Ignatius Loyola, about the middle of the sixteenth century; and which, after strongly attracting the attention of mankind during more than two hundred years, has by a sort of common consent of the leading Catholic powers, been suppressed in our own time; had penetrated into France under the reign of Henry the Second. Their Spanish origin, their devotion to Philip the Second, the unqualified obedience professed by them to the commands of the see of Rome, and the genius or spirit of the society itself; — these characteristic facts had nevertheless awakened the jealous attention of the parliament of Paris, towards all their proceedings. During the existence of "the League," they had exhibited the most unequivocal proofs of their adherence to the court of Madrid; and they had not submitted to Henry the Fourth, till all further resistance was become vain [q]. Soon after the reduction of Paris in 1594, the university of that capital commenced a prosecution against

Their disloyalty.

[p] Chron. Sept. p. 459. [q] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 151.

the

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the order, at the bar of the parliament; demanding their expulsion from France, as emissaries of Spain, and traitors to the State[r]. The clergy, in particular the curates of the metropolis, irritated at the interference of the Jesuits, who having by address insinuated themselves into a number of families, had supplanted the curates in the lucrative employment of preaching, and of receiving confessions; joined in the accusation. The cause was argued during several days; the utmost eloquence being exerted by Arnauld and Dole, who acted as counsel for the university and the clergy. Duret, another celebrated advocate, displayed equal talents in defending the Jesuits; and after long debates on the part of the judges, the final decision was postponed.[s]

University of Paris demands their expulsion.

Before the close of the year 1594, Henry was stabbed by Chatel, in the mouth: that assassin, who had received the rudiments of his education under the Jesuits, at the college of Clermont in Paris, having been interrogated; though he discharged the order of all participation in the attempt, yet the parliament involved them in the penalties of his sentence[t]. By an act of unjustifiable and tyrannical authority, Guignard, one of the society, a man of learning and of eminence in his profession, was

Proceedings against the order.

Guignard's punishment.

[r] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 378—387.

[s] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 241—274. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 337—339. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 33—35. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 378—406.

[t] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol i. tome ii. p. 67.

executed,

executed, merely because some manuscript writings were found in his closet, of a tendency inimical to kingly government, and defamatory of Henry the Third. The circumstances of his trial, condemnation, and death, strongly remind us of Algernon Sydney, in our own history, who fell by a similar act of juridical iniquity or injustice. Guignard suffered not only with constancy, but with heroism, amidst the insults of the populace[u]. The parliament, profiting of the fermentation and animosity excited by the King's recent personal danger, instantly issued a peremptory order, commanding the Jesuits to quit France within fifteen days, on pain of death. They obeyed thro'out all the provinces subject to the jurisdiction of the parliament of Paris, as well as to those of Rouen and of Dijon. It appears that at this time, their numbers in the capital, amounted to no more than thirty-seven individuals: but, the superior talents or industry which they displayed in the education of youth, excited the enmity of the other ecclesiastics, while it rendered their loss regretted by a considerable part of the community[x]. Not satisfied with banishing them, the parliament declared them "corruptors of youth, disturbers of the public repose, enemies of the King and of the state." All their property being seized, was sequestered to pious uses. A pyramid, commemorative of Chatel's

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Exile of the Jesuits.

[u] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 346—348. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 72—74.

[x] Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 75, 76.

crime,

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Pyramid erected.

crime, on which, inscriptions dishonoring to the Jesuits were engraven, being erected in the centre of Paris, seemed to immortalize their infamy[y]; precisely as the monument constructed in London, under Charles the Second, attributed with similar injustice to the Papists, the conflagration of 1666. Thro'out the whole of this transaction, which unquestionably carries with it the marks of severity and precipitation, the King seems to have been passive, and to have taken no part, either in behalf of the persecuted society of Jesus, or in their proscription and condemnation.

Attachment to the Jesuits,

Such nevertheless was the attachment generally felt for them, and so eminent did the services which they rendered in the education of youth, appear to the parliaments of Bourdeaux and of Toulouse, that they refused to concur in the execution of the sentence issued at Paris. On the contrary, thro'out all the provinces extending between the Garonne and the Rhone, including nearly one third part of France, the society was protected, retained possession of their colleges, and suffered none of the penalties or privations contained in the decree of 1594[z]. The parliament of Paris, indignant at so contemptuous an infraction of their orders, published new and reiterated prohibitions to shelter them in any part of the French monarchy[a].

[y] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 339—342. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 347—349. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 432—437. De Thou, vol. xii. p 337. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 191.

[z] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 350.

[a] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 158—161.

But

But these impotent marks of resentment were treated with disregard; and the parliament of Toulouse opposed to them counter decrees, forbidding any molestation of the persons or effects of the Jesuits. It is a fact not less singular than true, that the crown took no measure to support the one, or to maintain the other sentence: by a destiny equally uncommon, as it appears capricious, while the order was persecuted in one part of the kingdom, it was honored and protected thro'out the adjoining provinces [b]. In this equivocal state they remained during several years: but, even while laboring under a partial exile and proscription, so rapid was the augmentation of their numbers, that at a general assembly of the order, held in May 1603, at Bourdeaux, they exceeded fifteen hundred [c]. Many Spaniards were asserted to have mixed among them in disguise: it may however be justly doubted, whether malignity had not a larger share than truth, in the accusation. It is unquestionable, that their superior facility in the science of instructing youth, had attracted to their seminaries the sons of all the principal nobility thro'out the provinces of Languedoc and Guyenne. [d]

and protection of them,

in the southern provinces.

Their numbers.

Many causes eventually contributed to procure their recall to the metropolis, and their

Causes of their recall.

[b] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 166—169. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 221—223. Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 5, 6, and p. 26. Chron. Sept. p. 434. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 195.

[c] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 241.

[d] Ibid. p. 242.

com-

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complete re-establishment in all the rights or possessions of which they had been deprived. The intercessions of Clement the Eighth; the services rendered by Cardinal Tolet, one of their members, in facilitating and accelerating the King's absolution at Rome; the favor and good offices of various distinguished individuals about the French court; lastly, the magnanimous oblivion of injuries which characterized Henry the Fourth; or, if we may believe a severe, though penetrating writer, his apprehension of falling a victim to the revenge of so powerful and vindictive a society [e]. The remonstrances of the parliament of Paris were overruled and silenced; all their confiscated revenues were restored to the order; and the pyramid that eternized their participation in the crime of Chatel, was demolished as a sort of atonement to their innocence [f]. We have not, in the lapse of near a century and a half, done similar justice to the Catholics among us. The monument of 1666, still continues to traduce them as incendiaries, and

Restoration of their property.

"Like a tall bully, rears its head, and lies."

How rapidly the Jesuits advanced in power after their return, and with what perseverance as well as malice, they ventured to

[e] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 539. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 298—300. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 192—196.
[f] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 300—312.

attack

attack even the ministers of state whom they conceived to be inimical to the grandeur of the society, we may see in the Memoirs of Sully[g]. The very circumstances which were intended to depress and humiliate them, by a singular dexterity conduced to their elevation. One of their members having been enjoined to attend constantly near the person of the sovereign, in order to answer for the obedience and good deportment of his brethren; they were enabled thereby to claim, to acquire, and to retain, the employment of Confessor to the King. It is needless to state the advantages resulting from the possession of such a post, or the ascendant which it naturally conferred over a weak, a timid, or a superstitious prince.

CHAP. II. 1589—1610. Their progress.

During the remainder of the reign under our review, their influence continued to be progressive; and Henry, from whatever motive he acted, may be said to have oppressed them with benefits. Colleges, schools, and establishments of every description were lavished on the order[h]. The clergy of France, as a collective body, was compelled in 1605, to furnish the Jesuits with no less a sum than fifty thousand crowns, towards the construction of their celebrated church at the town of La Fleche in Anjou[i]. Three years afterwards, by command of the government, they were re-established in the King's patrimonial dominions,

Power of the order.

[g] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 329—332.
[h] Journ. d'Hen. IV., tome ii. p. 204.
[i] Conf. de Sancy, p. 123.

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1589—1610. and insinuation.

thro'out the principality of Bëarn[k]. It is not a little curious to reflect, that as the last and greatest proof of their insinuation, or of their empire over Henry, they obtained from him a promise, that his heart should be delivered to them after his decease. The engagement became literally fulfilled; fifteen days subsequent to his assassination, the monarch's heart having been solemnly consigned to their care, conveyed by a deputation of their order to La Fleche, and there deposited in their own church[l]. After the enumeration of these facts, we must at least be compelled to admit the talents, if we do not recognize the virtue, of the society. In 1610 they enjoyed high consideration, encreasing reputation, and augmenting revenues. The most distinguished youth of France, who were their pupils, became subsequently their protectors. Previous to their exile in 1594, during the course of about thirty years which had then elapsed since they first began to open seminaries, more than fifty thousand young men had received their education from the Jesuits[m]. It seems impossible to doubt that their mode of instruction was, as they maintained to be the fact, far superior to the system in use among the other ecclesiastics; or to deny that the voluntary preference given them as preceptors, by a whole nation, formed a just tribute to their capacity and learning.

Their state at the close of this reign.

Their skill in educating youth.

[k] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 161.
[l] Ibid. p. 167, 168. [m] Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 546.

The

Hugonots.

The Hugonots, at every period of the reign of Henry the Fourth, from its commencement to its conclusion, formed the objects of his constant and anxious attention. Their numbers, enthusiasm, and resources, rendered them not only respectable, but formidable. It is indispensable, in order not to leave incomplete the picture of France at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to trace with accuracy, though with brevity, the leading features of Henry's policy and conduct towards this class of his subjects. As early as 1589, even before the death of his predecessor, he had found it expedient to revoke a concession made by him to the Hugonots in the preceding year; namely a permission to erect six chambers, or courts of justice, to be resident in six of the principal cities of the party. He had only granted them so dangerous a privilege, with a view to avert a greater calamity, their chusing a foreign prince for their protector[n]. We can scarcely doubt that the most clear-sighted and discerning among the Protestants, had early foreseen, and were fully prepared for the event of his abjuration, as being sooner or later unavoidable in the nature of things. Sully, in his Memoirs, admits its expediency, and seems, at least negatively, to have advised its execution[o]. D'Aubigné alone of all Henry's followers, informs us, that he ventured to offer him a very opposite counsel.

Policy of Henry towards them.

Advice of D'Aubigné to the King.

[n] D'Aub. Hist. Univ. vol. iii. p. 362. Conf. de Sancy, p. 382.

[o] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 107.

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It was no other than to remain firm in his faith, and to seize on all the property of the monastic orders, in imitation of Henry the Eighth; leaving to the secular clergy their possessions undiminished. He pretended to prove by accurate calculations, that the wealth thus sequestered, would enable the crown to diminish one-third of the taxes annually raised from the French people; to maintain three armies of a hundred thousand men, with a hundred cannon each; to provide ample garrisons; to pay the military officers; and to lay up every year, near a hundred and thirty thousand pounds Sterling[p]. It is difficult to say on a first inspection, whether we are most inclined to admire so bold and masculine a plan, as one of the most energetic conceptions of a vigorous mind; or to condemn it as visionary and chimerical: but on severe examination, it will appear to have been attended in the execution with insuperable difficulties. A proposition nearly similar, as far as it respected the monastic orders, had been made under Henry the Third in 1581, by an anonymous writer[q]. The solicitations of Gabrille d'Etrées, enforced by the conviction which Henry the Fourth felt of its danger, if not its impracticability, induced him wisely to prefer the alternative of embracing the Catholic religion.

Reflexions on it.

[p] D'Aub. Hist. Univ. vol. iii. p. 292. Conf. de Sancy, p. 372, and p. 374.

[q] Conf. de Sancy, p. 375.

From

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From the period when he executed his resolution, the Hugonots no longer regarded him as other than a concealed enemy, and an apostate; though he strove by caresses, by excuses, and by promises, to retain, or to recover their affections. Early in 1595, while his affairs might still be considered as in a very critical situation, he compelled the parliament of Paris to register and to publish a temporary edict in their favor, renewing that of Poitiers granted them in 1577 by his predecessor. It was not carried through the parliament without violent debates, extreme repugnance, and only by a small majority of six votes, notwithstanding the personal solicitation and exertions of the King[r]. Yet far from satisfying or conciliating his Protestant subjects by this mark of protection, they exhibited proofs of discontent, complained of his ingratitude, and began to seek for protectors against the power of the crown. Having deprived them of the support which they derived from a prince of the blood, by removing to his court, and educating in the Catholic faith, Henry, the young Prince of Condé, then presumptive heir to the crown; the Dukes of la Tremouille and of Bouillon, successively and separately aspired to occupy the dangerous eminence of their protector. Many of the Hugonot chiefs retired to their castles in the provinces. Synods or assemblies were held, for the purpose of deliberating

Temporary edict in favor of the Hugonots.

Complaints of that body.

They abandon Henry,

[r] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 346—348. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 81—86.

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on the measures proper to be pursued, in order to secure their common safety; and the party remained in a state of sullen alienation. Even the capture of Amiens by the Spaniards in 1597, the danger of the subversion of the monarchy, and the pressing solicitations of the King himself, who conjured them not to abandon him in a moment of such just apprehension; — all these motives proved ineffectual for inducing them to repair to the royal standard. Only about fifteen hundred Hugonots obeyed the summons, and rescued their brethren from the imputation of totally deserting their antient master in his greatest distress [s]. The far larger number among them, continued to arm, more, as it was believed, with an intent to attack, than to support the crown [t]. The valour, constancy, and fortune of Henry, aided by various circumstances, having enabled him nevertheless to retake Amiens, he ultimately gave peace to France.

at the siege of Amiens.

Edict of Nantes.

Wearied by the solicitations of the Protestants, and fearful that despair might precipitate them on some violent resolution, the King granted them soon afterwards, while he resided at Nantes, that celebrated and permanent edict, under which they enjoyed for near ninety years, protection and tranquillity. Every civil, religious, and political right, consistent with the preservation of the Catholic faith and the eccle-

[s] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 459.
[t] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 703.

siastical

siastical establishment, was conceded by it to the Hugonots. They were rendered capable of holding and exercising all employments in the law, the army, or the state. A court, denominated "the Chamber of the edict," was created in the parliament of Paris, for the exclusive trial of causes in which they were concerned, either as plaintiffs, or as defendants. Similar regulations were framed in all the provincial parliaments [u]. We may nevertheless see in de Thou, with what difficulty a law of such consequence to the general tranquillity of the kingdom, so enlarged in its principles, and so beneficial in its tendency, was adopted and promulgated, at the reiterated, peremptory command of the sovereign. [x]

CHAP. II. 1589—1610. Privileges accorded by it.

Notwithstanding these proofs of his affectionate care, Henry found it requisite to have recourse to the arts of corruption; and to purchase by pecuniary gratifications, the leaders of a party, who were neither to be subdued by violence, nor to be conciliated by caresses. It was with this silent and imperceptible, but effectual weapon, that he disarmed their rage, dispersed their assemblies, and rendered ineffectual their cabals. All the eminent reformed clergy and magistrates, as well as many of the principal Hugonot nobility, became pensioners of the court [y]. Even the inferior instruments

Arts of corruption.

[u] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 225—236. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 373—375. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 123, 124. Davila, p. 1336, 1337.

[x] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 375—386.

[y] D'Aub. Memoires, p. 140—142, and p. 148. Confess. de Sancy, p. 559, 560. Davila, p. 1334—1336.

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were not forgotten; and Tavannes assures us that the most insignificant individuals among them, who were deemed capable of giving information, received regular stipends[z]. Above fifty thousand crowns a year were constantly allotted to so important a branch of secret service[a]. Henry did not scruple to own to d'Aubigné in confidence, that a man high in the counsels of the Protestants, a member of one of the greatest families in France, served him in the capacity of a spy; revealing to government all their machinations, for so inconsiderable a salary as about sixty pounds Sterling a year[b]. The Duke of la Tremouille alone, appears to have remained inaccessible to all the efforts made for corrupting his fidelity and adherence; rejecting with firmness every offer, however lucrative or flattering in its nature[c]. His death, which took place in 1604, when added to the submission of the Duke of Bouillon, two years later; by disarming the party of which they were the leaders, seemed to lay them at the feet of the crown: yet far from relaxing his vigilance, the King's precautions and apprehensions strengthened as he advanced in life.

Sums expended by Henry, to gain the Hugonots.

We may judge how strongly he resented, as well as dreaded, the partiality entertained for those chiefs on the part of the Hugonots, by the curious and interesting conversation between Henry and d'Aubigné, which that writer, with

His conversation with d'Aubigné.

[z] Tavannes, p. 395.
[a] Idem, ibid.
[b] D'Aub. Memoires, p. 150, 151.
[c] Ibid. Hist. Univ. vol. iii. p. 454, 455.

his usual freedom, has transmitted to us in his Memoirs. It conveys a striking picture of the frankness with which the antient servants and followers of the King, ventured to disclose to him their thoughts; while it proves not less the generosity and beneficence of his character, which overbore all considerations of personal interest or policy. D'Aubigné, who was believed to be a natural son of Anthony, King of Navarre, had irritated his master by the inflexibility of his adherence to the Hugonots, and by his attempts to oppose the influence of government in their assemblies. Henry, while he was hunting in the vicinity of Paris, entered into conversation with him on these points; and after excusing D'Aubigné's past conduct, as being the result of good intention, endeavoured to attach him to the court by an honorable and advantageous proposal. He then embraced d'Aubigné, leaving him to reflect on the circumstances which had passed, and pursued his diversion. "I followed him," says the historian, "and having overtaken him, I said to "him, 'Sire, when I look in your counte-"'nance, I resume my former liberties and "'boldness. Open three buttons of your waist-"'coat, and when I see your heart, do me the "'favor to tell me what it is that has moved "'you to hate me.' The King turning pale, "as he usually did when he spoke with emo-"tion, answered me, 'You have loved the "'Duke of la Tremouille too well; you knew "'that I detested him, and yet you did not

"'cease

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" ' cease to continue to him your affection.'— " ' Sire,' replied I, ' I have been brought up " ' at your majesty's feet; and I there learnt " ' betimes, not to abandon persons in afflic- " ' tion, overwhelmed by a superior power. " ' Approve in me that apprenticeship of vir- " ' tue, which I have passed in your own com- " ' pany.' My answer was followed by a second " embrace which my master gave me, ordering " me at the same time to retire [d]." There is not any anecdote or conversation recorded by Plutarch, Greek or Roman, more affecting, than this short narrative. The " Siste tandem " Carnifex," of Mœcenas, to his imperial master Augustus, tho' more severe and compressed, is not more frank; while it is inferior in delicacy of reproof, to the reply made by d'Aubigné. Notwithstanding however, Henry's momentary ebullition of kindness towards him, which might arise from some fraternal emotions in his bosom; yet finding d'Aubigné continue his dangerous or seditious efforts in favor of the reformed religion and adherents, the King issued orders to Sully for arresting and confining him in the Bastile. The command was on the point of being executed, when d'Aubigné averted it by going to court, and demanding a pension [e].

Precautions adopted.

As a measure of necessary precaution on the part of the crown, Sully was however made governor of Poitou, in order to watch over and to repress any tendency towards insurrection

[d] D'Aub. Memoires, p. 149—152. [e] Ibid. p. 161—163.

thro'out

thro'out that extensive province, lying along the shore of the Atlantic, where the reformed religion possessed numerous adherents.[f] The slightest symptom of discontent among the Hugonots, excited more alarm in Henry's mind, than all the menaces or preparations of Philip the Third[g]. His wisdom and moderation retained them nevertheless within the bounds of obedience, down to the termination of his reign. It would have been happy for France, if his grandson Louis the Fourteenth, had been directed by equally enlarged and beneficent principles of policy.

State of the Hugonots,

Neither the military numbers, nor the pecuniary resources of the Hugonots, were in any considerable degree diminished in 1610, from the point to which they had attained at the death of Henry the Third. Some few apostates, induced by the example of their prince, had, it is true, embraced the Catholic faith; but such instances, which had rather tended to excite contempt than emulation, do not seem to have met with great encouragement or reward even from the King[h]. Notwithstanding, however, the apparent strength and forces of the Protestants, the basis of their civil existence as a party, was undermined and shaken. A period of twenty years having elapsed, since the sword had been avowedly drawn between the followers of the

at Henry's death.

[f] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 182—189.

[g] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 212—214.

[h] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 111, 112.

two

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two religions; the Hugonots, who were destitute of any chief among the princes of the blood, became divided among each other. The magistrates and people had grown jealous of the nobility; while gold had found its way to their most secret deliberations. Persecution having subsided, a most beneficial, though an invisible and gradual change, had softened the rancour of antient animosity. We can scarcely conceive how vast was this alteration produced in the minds of men, and in the modes of thinking, between 1589 and 1610. Such was the detestation borne by the Catholics, towards the Hugonots who fought with them under the same banners against "the League" at the former period, that even the presence of their common master and sovereign could not restrain it within any decent limit.

Change in the human mind, on religious concerns.

We should find the fact difficult to believe, if we did not know it from an eye-witness, that after the memorable combat fought at Arques, the King having assisted in his own lodgings, together with a number of his officers, at the exercises of his religion; the Catholic Switzers of his army, conducted by the Duke of Montpensier, a prince of the royal family, assembled in order to interrupt their devotions. Those individuals who chanced to arrive late, were outraged and wounded by the soldiery. Several of them having entered the apartment, all bloody, demanded vengeance for so unprovoked an insult. Henry, his eyes bathed in tears, nevertheless repressed his indignation, quitted the room where

Intolerance at Dieppe,

where he had repaired for the purpose of offering up his prayers to heaven; and being followed by all the assistants, repaired to a meadow without the gates of Dieppe, there to resume and finish their interrupted rites[i]. It is impossible not to admire so politic, as well as magnanimous a triumph over his just feelings of resentment. Two years afterwards, during the siege of Rouen, the young Cardinal of Bourbon, and the zealous Catholics in the royal army, caused the graves to be opened, in which had been recently interred the corpses of the Hugonots, their fellow soldiers and comrades. Animated by a savage spirit of detestation towards men of an opposite faith, though engaged in the same cause; they had the barbarity to throw the dead bodies of their brave, meritorious associates, to be devoured by the ravens and the wolves[k]. The King was compelled to remain a passive spectator of this violation of the sanctity of the tomb, which would have disgraced the most savage age and nation.

and at Rouen.

His abjuration in 1594, may be said to have given a mortal wound to the enmity subsisting between the two religions: the Catholics themselves, satisfied with the sacrifice of so illustrious a victim, lost much of their preceding antipathy towards heretics. Notwithstanding the positive prohibition contained in the fourteenth article of "the edict of Nantes," to "preach or per-

Decline of the spirit of persecution.

[i] D'Aub. Hist. Univ. vol. iii. p. 222.

[k] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 93. D'Aub. Hist. Univ, vol. iii. p. 264.

"form

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" form any act of the reformed worship, either " in the court and royal residence, or within " five leagues of Paris;" we find Catherine, Princess of Navarre, Henry's sister, openly violating it with perfect impunity. She ventured, not merely once, but constantly during several years, to cause public worship to be performed in the palace of the Louvre itself, to which ceremony all persons obtained free admittance[l]. Marriages were publickly celebrated after the Protestant ritual, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered, and meat was served at her table on days when flesh was interdicted by the Romish calendar[m]. It is to be observed, that at the precise time when she thus manifested her invincible attachment to heresy, in the midst of the capital and court; L'Etoile acquaints us, " Proclamation was made in Paris, " forbidding any person to eat flesh in Lent " without a dispensation, on pain of corporal " punishment; and enjoining butchers neither " to sell, nor even to expose meat, on penalty " of death[n]." Criminals, condemned to die for capital crimes, were publickly visited and attended in prison by Hugonot ministers.[o]

Conduct of the Princess of Navarre.

The Parisians, who, a few years, or almost months antecedent, would have run with firebrands and instruments of destruction to suppress such heretical proceedings; scarcely pre-

[l] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 54.

[m] Idem, tome ii. p. 22, and p. 43, and p. 58, and p. 88, and p. 132, and p. 155, and p. 164, and p. 250.

[n] Idem, p. 88. [o] Idem, p. 132, and p. 162.

suming

suming to murmur, seemed rather impressed with astonishment than with resentment. Cardinal Gondy, accompanied by some of the clergy, did indeed remonstrate with the King, on so public and indecent a protection of heresy. But the answer which he received, was not of a nature calculated for encouraging him to repeat the experiment[p]. When Benoist, curate of the parish of St. Eustace in Paris, took some liberties with his tongue in censuring the princess's conduct, she sent for him, and reprimanded him with asperity for his insolence[q]; an act which excited no complaint among the people. In 1606, the Protestants, with Henry's express permission, met at Charenton, scarcely two leagues from the gates of the metropolis, in order to exercise their religion. The Parisians appear to have been incensed at so daring an act, which certainly was committed in open contempt of the limitations and restrictions contained in "the edict of Nantes." They even shewed a disposition to interrupt and to disturb the Hugonots, who were near three thousand in number; but the presence of the archers of the royal guard restraining the multitude, prevented any riot or outrage, though not without considerable difficulty[r]. The massacre of Vassy in Champagne, under Charles the Ninth, which began the sanguinary period of the civil wars, took place nearly under similar circum-

Remonstrances of the clergy.

Protestants preach at Charenton.

[p] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 54.
[q] Idem, p. 88.
[r] Idem, vol. ii. p. 122, 123.

stances;

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stances: but time had mollified the animosity of the two parties, in the lapse of more than forty years.

Change in the court of Rome.

Nor was this salutary change produced in the minds of men upon religious subjects, confined to Paris or to France. It pervaded Europe, and operated with singular efficacy in the court of Rome itself. Clement the Eighth, a pontiff of a sound and enlightened understanding, exhibited a very different spirit from that by which his predecessors, Pius the Fifth, or Gregory the Fourteenth, were animated. Desirous to extinguish heresy by persuasion, not by persecution, he abstained thro'out his whole pontificate, from any act of violence towards the professors of the reformed religion; and he even freely issued passports to them, in virtue of which they could visit or reside in Rome, without danger, or personal molestation [s]. No preceding Pope since Luther's appearance at an early period of the sixteenth century, had relaxed so much from the severity exercised against them; and Paul the Fifth, Clement's successor, imitated him in this benevolent or enlarged part of his conduct. Both those pontiffs carried on an epistolary correspondence with Sully; and their letters to him, though tinctured with becoming zeal, yet from the liberal sentiments with which they abound, might have been dictated by Lambertini or

Clement the Eighth.

and Paul the Fifth, correspond with Sully.

[s] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 72, 73. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 203.

Gan-

Ganganelli, the two most beneficent individuals who occupied the chair of St. Peter, during the whole course of the eighteenth century[t]. The answers of the Hugonot first minister, breathe the utmost veneration for the apostolic see, and respect towards the vicars of Christ.

At the period of Henry's assassination, when the reins of government necessarily became relaxed during the minority which took place; the people thro'out all the provinces seem to have buried in his grave, their past animosities. Instead of arming against each other, as they would unquestionably have done under Charles the Ninth, or Henry the Third, on the sudden vacancy of the throne; the Catholics and Protestants thro'out France, took each other under their mutual protection. They even swore "inviolable fidelity and reciprocal assistance, "against whomsoever should molest them[u]." So wonderful a reconciliation was regarded at the time, as the effect of supernatural and divine interposition. Even the clergy of the two religions, animated with the same benevolent spirit, joined in inculcating obedience to the laws, forgiveness, and toleration. On the 30th of May, 1610, sixteen days after the King's death, a Capuchin friar, preaching at St. Andrew's church in Paris, exhorted his audience "to live in peace with each other, notwith-

Spirit of the people in the provinces,

and of the Catholic clergy.

[t] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 403—405; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 148—151.

[u] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 158, 159.

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"standing the diversity of religion." He advised the people "to leave all theological "controversies to the Sorbonne, and to the "schools; yielding implicit obedience to the "edicts of their late excellent departed mas- "ter, that great restorer of the State, who, for "wise reasons, and for the repose of his sub- "jects, had enacted them; that in so doing, "they could not err [x]." We cannot desire any more convincing proof of the prodigious alteration effected on the public mind, by a few years of vigor, accompanied with toleration.

Example of it.

Courts of justice.

All the inherent and inveterate abuses which had dishonored the administration of justice during the reigns of the princes of Valois, continued to pollute it under Henry the Fourth. Such was the confusion and subversion of the very forms of law, that in the year 1590, the office of Chancellor of France was totally suspended during many months. The great seal commonly remained in the possession of Ruzé, Secretary of State. Marshal Biron, who, tho' he was commander in chief of the forces under the King, yet aspired to direct legal measures, as well as military operations; continually disputed with the Marquis D'O, Superintendant of the finances, for the right of sealing and expediting public acts. Their equal ignorance of the common law, or the civil law, led them into perpetual violations of equity and of jurisprudence, highly injurious to their master's affairs.

Vacancy of the post of Chancellor.

[x] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. p. 166, 167.

Henry,

Henry, disgusted at their errors, and wearied by their altercations, recalled the antient Chancellor Chiverny, and delegated to him anew the badges of his office [y]. From this period, the external decorum and dignity of the proceedings in courts of law, began to re-appear; but the fountain itself remained not less corrupt. Importunities, solicitations, and even presents, were offered with impunity [z]. So vile and abject indeed were many of the provincial judges appointed by the crown, that they did not blush to enter into the immediate service of princes, noblemen, governors, and corporate bodies, from whom they received pecuniary stipends, and in whose favour they perverted the course of justice. [a]

Venality of the provincial judges.

The calamities of France, in particular the distress occasioned by the capture of Amiens in 1597, compelled the King to have recourse to very pernicious expedients for raising money with expedition. Among these, may be esteemed the augmentation of the number of counsellors thro'out all the parliaments of the kingdom. The imperious necessity which dictated the measure, carried it into effect, notwithstanding the murmurs and opposition experienced in the courts of civil and criminal law [b]. Persons who were employed in the

Augmentation of legal employments.

[y] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 168, 169. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 174—187.

[z] Journal Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 40, and p. 44, and p. 46, 47, and p. 97, and p. 178.

[a] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 23.

[b] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 351, and p. 462.

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public service, received their assignments on the profits to be derived from the sale of the newly-created offices: but such was the general consternation spread thro' France at that juncture, and so precarious appeared to be the very existence of the monarchy, that no purchasers could be found for them, while Amiens remained in the possession of the Spaniards. We find Henry writing to Rosny in August, 1597, to acquaint him that even for places in the parliament of Paris, there was not an offer made; and beseeching him to assign the payment of garrisons, which were in imminent danger of mutinying for want of their arrears, upon some more efficient fund. [c]

Want of purchasers for them.

"Paulette." Its institution.

In 1604, the institution of the "Paulette," a tax which for a small annual consideration made to the crown, enabled the holders of legal employments to transmit or devolve them at death to their heirs general, carried the venality of the law to its utmost height, and rendered it perpetual. It seemed impossible to devise a mode of filling the royal coffers, more injurious to the subject, or more pernicious in its effect on equity and morals. Mezeray, tho' he wrote under Louis the Fourteenth, half a century later, when the evil operated in full force, having then attained the sanction of time; yet speaks of it in terms of horror and natural indignation [d]. In 1597, the place of a Presi-

[c] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 366.

[d] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 310—314.

dent

dent in the parliament of Paris, sold for about two thousand pounds[e]. Three years afterwards, the post of a Counsellor in the same body, seems to have been valued at five hundred[f]. Henry in 1594, in order to enable Gabrielle d'Etrées to defray her journey to Lyons, presented her with one of the latter employments[g]. When writing to Sully in 1608, he says, "the "lady of Essarts being in want of money, I "have given her a mastership of accounts in "Normandy. I have spoken to the president "Motteville to verify it[h]." It ought not to be forgotten that both these ladies, on whom he thus confers legal offices, were his mistresses. Such donations unhappily excited neither shame nor surprize.

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Price of legal offices.

Donations of them to ladies.

The enormous amount of fees and charges made by attornies in all the courts of law, formed an object of general complaint during the period under our review. We may form some estimate of their magnitude, when we find the Duke of Luxembourg complaining to Henry in 1602, that a sum nearly amounting to two hundred pounds Sterling, had been demanded of him by counsel, to plead a cause which was then depending before the parliament of Paris[i]. In consequence of this, and other notorious instances of extortion or impo-

Fees of lawyers.

[e] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 152.
[f] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 463, 464.
[g] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 61.
[h] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 266.
[i] Ibid. vol. i. tome ii. p. 54.

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Attempt to reform them.

sition, an order was published, enjoining all advocates to declare in writing the sums received by them in fees; to the end that the court might, on the final decision of the suit or cause, regulate the expence to be defrayed by the losing parties. The penalty of felony was annexed to refusal. All the old practitioners at the bar submitted; but the young lawyers, to the number of three hundred and seven, having met, gave in their unanimous professional resignation, or rather renunciation. Legal proceedings of every kind being suspended in the capital, by so extraordinary a circumstance, and a sedition being apprehended, messengers were dispatched to acquaint the King with the facts, who was then absent at Poitiers. There were not wanting ministers, who advised him to compel the refractory lawyers to resume their profession within eight days, on pain of being obliged to enter into trade, or to apply themselves to agriculture. The parliament appeared to be disposed to support the measure, if it had been adopted by government. But Henry, occupied with various matters of political importance, and engrossed by the desire of getting Biron into his possession, whose machinations with foreign powers he dreaded, prudently preferred a more temperate alternative. The order issued relative to fees, was tacitly revoked or suspended; the pleadings at the bar recommenced; and the evil so loudly as well as justly denounced, rather acquired force by the ineffectual endeavours used

Its effects.

Conduct of the King.

used for its suppression[k]. Another abuse, of which equal complaint was made, consisted in the duration of suits. Sully says, that the legal contest depending between the crown on one part, and the Duke of Nevers on the other, respecting the estates of the families of Foix and Albret, claimed by both; had already lasted more than sixty years, without coming to a decision[l]. It must however be admitted, that this grievance has not been confined to France, among modern European nations; and that even the English tribunals of civil law, admirable as they may be esteemed, are not altogether exempt in the present age, from a similar imputation.

Durations of law-suits.

The parliament of Paris, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the venality with which it was infected, and the improper individuals who, by favor or money, found means to intrude themselves into it, yet constituted a venerable, learned, and majestic assembly. Their decisions, as well as their line of conduct, were marked on many occasions, by wisdom, public spirit, and patriotism. As a court of criminal judicature, they seem to have been more exempt from censure, more upright, and less biassed by unworthy motives, or by a tame subserviency to the royal will, than in

Parliament of Paris.

Its spirit and decisions

[k] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 63. Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 184, 185. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 54.

[l] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 123.

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their capacity of civil judges in cases of property. It may be reasonably questioned whether the English house of lords under Elizabeth, considered as a high court of justice, was equally pure and independant. The jury of twenty-five peers, before whom, Devereux, Earl of Essex, was indited in 1601 for high treason, betrayed more servile devotion to the crown, and appeared more disposed to adopt its prejudices or its resentments, than the parliament of Paris, at whose bar Marshal Biron was arraigned in the following year. If we compare the illiberal language, together with the injurious epithets applied by Yelverton and Coke, to the unfortunate Essex, with the humanity and indulgences extended towards Biron by his judges; we shall not hesitate to decide, that the French tribunal was at once more dignified and more equitable than the peers of England.[m]

in criminal causes.

Hours of the courts of law.

The hours at which the courts of law met, for hearing and determining suits or trials under Henry the Fourth, partook of the simplicity of early times. We find that when the emissaries of the "Council of sixteen," seized on and executed Brisson, first President of the parliament of Paris, on the sixteenth day of November, 1591; they stopped him as he was on his way to the hall where he held his sittings, soon after four in the morning[n]. Before 1602,

[m] Camden's Elizabeth, p. 543, 544. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 302, 303, and p. 313, 314.

[n] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 80.

some

some relaxation seems however to have taken place in this particular. Biron was usually conducted to the "Palais," where the parliament met, between five and six o'clock; and the Chancellor always causes the interrogatories to commence precisely at six in the morning[o].

Right of the peers to assist.

On the trial of a peer, the other peers of France had a right to assist, and to opine in the high court of parliament: but the individuals composing the order, unanimously declined to be present at Biron's arraignment, and could not, either by legal summons, or by the King's express command, be induced to attend, thro'-out the whole course of the proceedings[p]. The parliament of Paris, when all the chambers or courts were assembled, appears in 1595, to have consisted of near one hundred and twenty members[q]. Several counsellors and masters of accounts were added by edict, two years afterwards, as we have already noticed, on the capture of Amiens by Portocarrero[r]. During the troubles of "the League," in December, 1592, we find that only fifty-one counsellors of that august body, remained in the metropolis[s]. The remainder having fled to the King, were by him transferred to the city of Tours.

Numbers of the parliament.

General review of their conduct,

The firm and vigorous resistance opposed by the parliament of Paris on every occasion, to

[o] Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 188—190.

[p] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 297—299. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. 187.

[q] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 85.

[r] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 351.

[s] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 127.

the

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the efforts made for extending the Papal authority, at the expence of the majesty of the French crown, and the liberties of the nation, claims our esteem. They manifested themselves not less tenacious in repressing the insolence of turbulent ecclesiastics, and in restraining the irregularities or extravagant pretensions of the monastic orders [t]. Their loyalty had been displayed, even in times of revolt and anarchy; nor ought it to be forgotten, that their celebrated remonstrance made to the Duke of Mayenne, in June 1593, conduced eminently to the preservation of the Salic law, and the eventual submission of Paris to the King, in the following year [u]. The people found in them a bulwark, though frequently feeble and ineffectual, against the oppression of prerogative, and the augmentation of taxes. If all these circumstances are duly considered, we must admit, that notwithstanding the vices inseparable from the nature of their constitution, they were eminently entitled to the protection of the crown, while they conduced in no small degree, to the general welfare and prosperity of the nation. The parliament of Paris, though exiled by Louis the Fifteenth, yet was recalled by his successor; and it only fell, when every other venerable or beneficial institution of the French monarchy sunk in our own time, under the rage of innovation, democracy, and jacobinism.

principles,

and line of action.

[t] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 480—490; and vol. xiii. p. 29, 30.
[u] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 268—271.

CHAP. III.

State of letters. — Natural philosophy. — Pharmacy. — Jurisprudence. — Oratory and eloquence. — History. — Polite letters. — Poetry. — Drama. — The fine arts. — Erudition and literary enthusiasm. — State of the University of Paris. — Patronage of letters. — Education. — Libels and political writings. — French language.

1589—1610.

Ignorance of the sciences in France.

IF we appreciate the reign of Henry the Fourth as a period of letters, it is impossible not to admit, that whatever advances had been already made in the fine arts, or even in many branches of elegant composition, yet that the higher and more abstruse sciences were then scarcely cultivated among the French. Natural philosophy had not liberated itself, either from the physical and mechanical impediments, or from the superstitious prejudices which check its progress. Astronomy might be considered as unknown. While Galileo at Florence, discovered the Satellites of Jupiter, and prepared to demonstrate, in defiance of persecution, the great truths already divulged by Copernicus to mankind; — while Kepler was occupied at Prague, under the protection of the Emperor Rodolph the Second, in composing and publishing the "Rodolphine Tables;" — while Ortelius at Antwerp, rivalled the fame of Ptolemy in antiquity, by his geographical

CHAP. III. 1589—1610.

graphical improvements; — lastly, while Mercator, under the protection of the Dukes of Cleves, enriched the world with mathematical and chronological knowledge; — amidst these vigorous efforts of the human mind, France remained torpid and inert[a]. Only one illustrious exception presents itself in the person of Francis Viete, a native of Fontenay, an obscure town of the province of Poitou; who, in the course of a life prolonged to its sixty-third year, passed in severe and unremitting application, appears to have made very important discoveries in the most abstruse branches of algebraic science; geometry, the doctrine of fluxions and equations, conic sections, together with all the application of those principles to practical objects of utility or improvement; — these researches formed his habitual studies and occupation. His reputation was not confined to the limits of France; and his Commentaries on the treatises of Apollonius of Perga, (a philosopher who under the reign of Ptolomy Euergetes, more than two centuries before the Christian era, had first explained to the world, the Theory of conic sections;) raised Viete to the highest celebrity. He died in 1603, regretted by all the learned thro'out Europe. Notwithstanding this single instance, it may be asserted that the first principles of Hydraulics and of Optics were still misunderstood or unascertained,

Hydraulics.

[a] Biogr. Dict. vol v. p. 522, 523; and vol. x. p. 73, 74. Bayle. Dict. vol. vi. p. 657—660. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 199, 200; and vol. xv. p. 50—52.

at

at the conclusion of the sixteenth century. It was not till the year 1602, that the secret of raising water higher than its source, by means of mechanical powers, was put in practice. Claud de Monconnis, President of finances at Lyons, exhibited an experiment of this kind with success, in presence of the King, at Rouen. The royal gardens at the palace of St. Germain were soon afterwards embellished by him with fountains, which, however inferior in beauty or grandeur they might be to the celebrated water-works constructed in the course of the same century, by Louis the Fourteenth at Versailles and at Marly, nevertheless excited the astonishment and admiration of all his contemporaries. [b]

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Telescopes, so indispensable for exploring the motions and revolutions of the heavenly bodies, were first brought to Paris, in 1609, from Middleburg in Zealand, where the invention had originated among marshes and vapours. Galileo soon improving upon their construction, rendered them capable of the most sublime, as well as vast discoveries [c]: but the telescopic glasses known in France before the death of Henry the Fourth, remained still exceedingly imperfect, and were far inferior to those common at the Hague, or throughout Italy. It is evident, from the description left us of them by l'Etoile, that they could only be considered as

Optics.

Discovery of telescopes.

[b] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 564, 565.

[c] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 196. De Thou, vol. xv. p. 50.

the

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the rudest specimens of optical machines [d]. Not a single man of genius in the sciences of astronomy, chymistry, or natural philosophy, had yet arisen in France. Descartes, who attained to such celebrity under the succeeding reign, had not passed the limits of childhood in 1610; and Gassendi was still unknown to fame.

Pharmacy.

A similar sterility characterized the professions of pharmacy and surgery. Foëz, who died in 1595, tho' a man of distinguished talents and erudition, yet did not reach the eminence of reputation acquired by Fernel and Paré, his predecessors [e]. Paris appears, even at the end of the reign under our review, to have been destitute of able practitioners either in surgery or in medicine. If we may form an estimate of the skill or ability shewn in other branches of the art, by their success in cutting for the stone, we shall not entertain any very reverential opinion of their talents. Almost all the persons who submitted to the operation, between 1594 and 1610, seem to have died of its consequences. Many of these individuals were persons of the highest quality [f]. The surgeons were so little versed in the symptoms of the complaint itself, that they frequently mistook them; and after the unfortunate patient had submitted to the knife, it was discovered that he had fallen a victim to professional ignorance

Surgery.

Ignorance of the practitioners.

[d] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. p. 196. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 386.

[e] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 35, 36.

[f] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 54, 55, and p. 213; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 210; and tome ii. p. 169.

or misapprehension. Numerous instances of this fact are preserved by l'Etoile. The trade of an apothecary appears to have been much more comprehensive than in the present age, when it has become an appendage of the medical profession. We find Henry the Fourth desiring Sully to pay his apothecary, not only for medicinal drugs; but for sugar, spices, and torches, furnished to the royal household[g]. It was not till the age of Louis the Fourteenth, that the French justly attained the pre-eminence of medical science and skill above any other of the European nations: a pre-eminence, which England may contest with them at the commencement of the nineteenth century.

Jurisprudence.

Jurisprudence, in the most extensive signification of the term, as including a knowledge of the civil, canon, and common law of France, had made a far more rapid progress, than pharmacy or surgery. Cujas, who survived the extinction of the house of Valois only a short time, and whose end was accelerated by his emotions at witnessing the subversion of justice, and the destruction of the laws; left behind him a name scarcely inferior to those of Papinian, or of Ulpian, among the Romans. Such was the veneration in which he was deservedly held by his contemporaries, that, when citing his authority or decisions at the bar, it was customary to call him "the lawyer," as being alone worthy of that denomination[h].

Cujas.

[g] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 203. [h] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 229—231.

His

CHAP. III. 1589—1610. Pithou.

His pupil Pithou equalled him in legal ability, and far excelled him in every species of classical erudition, as well as acquaintance with polite letters [i]. To his successful labors, and those of his brother, Francis Pithou, we are indebted for the first discovery, and subsequent publication of the fables of Phædrus, the original manuscript of which work was found in the library of St. Remi, at Rheims in Champagne. Peter Pithou may be ranked among the most illustrious ornaments of the French bar, during the course of the sixteenth century. He died in 1596, after having exhibited proofs of loyalty to Henry the Fourth, and accelerated by his talents, the extinction of "the League." We should not suspect so dissolute a monarch as Henry the Third, of imitating Justinian in the most elevated and laudable act of that Emperor's administration.

Brisson.

Yet Brisson, First President of the parliament of Paris, who fell a sacrifice to the fury of the "Council of sixteen" in 1591; had by Henry's order, collected in a single volume, all the edicts and institutions of the kings of France. He named it "Le Code Henry," from the prince at whose command it was compiled [k]. Henry the Fourth does not appear to have extended equal attention to so important a branch of legislation and science.

Legal oratory.

That the oratory of the bar had not emancipated itself, at the beginning of the seven-

[i] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 37, 38. [k] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 523.

teenth

teenth century, from the false ornaments of a vicious and pedantic taste, is manifest by the specimens left us of that species of eloquence. Henry the Fourth, desirous to display before his guest, Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, every object most deserving of attention in the French capital; conducted him in January, 1600, to the great hall in the court of justice. Harlay, First President of the parliament of Paris, selected from among the causes depending before the tribunal, one not only interesting in itself; but calculated to display in all its extent, the legal ingenuity and ability of the greatest advocates of France. The King, accompanied by the Duke, both of them concealed behind a curtain, were present at the trial. A wealthy Gascon, of the name of Prost, who had arrived in the metropolis, during the preceding year, suddenly disappeared, without any trace being discovered of his fate. The wife of the person in whose house he had lodged, named Bellanger, by trade a baker, gave notice of the event to the commissaries of the police; but she previously entered the apartment of Prost, from whence she took a part of his money and wearing apparel. The mother of the deceased repairing to Paris, and having discovered the theft, immediately instituted an enquiry into the proceeding, and accused Bellanger of being the murderer. According to the received forms of criminal justice practised in that age, the baker underwent the torture; from which operation, however, his

Trial before the parliament of Paris.

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his wife and maid-servant were exempted. As they persisted to deny any participation in the crime, and no indications of their guilt appearing, they were all liberated. Soon afterwards, two criminals, convicted of various offences, confessed that they had murdered Prost, and pointed out the place where they had thrown his body. Bellanger, on this discovery, commenced a prosecution against the mother of the deceased, demanding very ample pecuniary damages for the imprisonment and other injury, which he had unjustly suffered in his person and fortune.[1]

Pleadings on it.

Such was the nature of this celebrated cause, upon which the first pleaders of the French bar were retained by the two parties. Robert opened it for the plantiffs: Arnauld was employed by the defendant; Louis Servin, attorney-general, summing up the evidence and arguments on both sides. The three speeches pronounced on the occasion, which are literally transmitted to us by Matthieu the historian; enable us to form an accurate opinion respecting the nature of the legal eloquence of that period. In all of them we discern acute penetration and sound reasoning; but, deformed by far-fetched and unnatural conceits, loaded with a redundancy of learning, and rendered tedious by perpetual endeavours to discover precedents or similar cases,

[1] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 439, 440. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 454, 455. Chron. Septen. p. 110, 111. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 172. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 225—227.

among

among the fables of antiquity. Robert begins his harangue by observing, that the wound inflicted on Telephus, the son of Hercules, by the spear of Achilles, could only be healed by the touch of the same weapon. Besides the general application of the remark to the court collectively, the particular sting or point of it consisted in its personal allusion to the first President, Harlay, whose Christian name was Achilles[m]. He soon afterwards compares the false and calumnious accusations made by the mother of Prost, which had misled the judges; to the torch of Nauplius, the father of Palamedes, which occasioned the shipwreck of the Grecian ships on the rocks of the Chærades[n]. After a digression of considerable length and equal erudition, upon the effects of calumny, he mentions the circumstance of Ceres having condemned herself to make for Pelops an ivory arm, in the place of that which she had inadvertently eaten at the banquet of Tantalus. He derives from thence an argument in behalf of his client, whom the court had imprisoned and tortured, though innocent of the crime imputed to him, and demands compensation for the severity with which he had been treated[o]. It must be confessed, that such reasons, sustained by such precedents, would not produce conviction in the court of Chancery, or in the court of King's Bench among us, in the nineteenth

Speech of Robert.

[m] Matthieu, vol. liv. ii. p. 455, 456. [n] Idem, p. 458, 459.
[o] Idem, p. 462, 463.

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century, whatever impression they might make on a French judicature, under Henry the Fourth.

Speech of Arnauld,

The speech of Arnauld, in justification of the mother of Prost, forms a much more simple, unsophisticated, and affecting appeal to the understanding, as well as the passions; though it is not by any means free from a mixture of affectation and bad taste[p]. There are however passages in it of extreme beauty, which in every age must excite admiration.

and of Servin.

The harangue of Servin, while it displays the force and energy of a capacious mind, capable of combining, comparing, and forming its final inductions with consummate ability; becomes nevertheless, disgusting, from the perpetual citations with which it is oppressed[q]. The same pedantic spirit pervades his address on the day subsequent to the assassination of Henry the Fourth in 1610, when Mary of Medicis repairing to the hall of the parliament with her son, the young King, laid claim to the regency. At a moment when France was plunged in just affliction, while tears or sobs interrupted every voice, Servin exhorts Louis the Thirteenth "to conduct himself towards his mother, as Alexander Severus had done towards Julia Mammœa; and to act only by her councils who was seated by him, as Bathsheba was seated by Solomon[r]." Many specimens of the general eloquence of the period, are preserved in

Eloquence of the period.

[p] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 466—476.
[q] Idem, p. 477—498. [r] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 100.

de Thou, and other contemporary writers, all which bear the same characteristic impression, though varied in the different speakers. We are covered with astonishment at the quantity of extraneous matter, the numerous precedents drawn from scripture and ecclesiastical history, as well as the variety of scholastic or theological learning, contained in the speeches of the Archbishops of Lyons and Bourges, pronounced during the conferences held in 1593, at Surenne, between the delegates of the King and "the League." It seems scarcely possible to display a greater exuberance of knowledge, nor to manifest less judgment and selection in applying it to the points in dispute.[s]

Speeches of the archbishops of Lyons and Bourges.

If we were compelled to point out two models of oratory, which appear to be the most exempt from the defects above enumerated, we should select the harangue pronounced by Henry the Fourth himself to the Parliament of Paris in 1599, upon their refusal to register the edict of Nantes; and the speech of Coqueley, a counsellor in the same august assembly, delivered immediately afterwards. They are neither embellished with unnatural flowers of rhetoric, nor obscured by unnecessary quotations and appeals to fable or mythology. Their characteristics are brevity, energy, and simplicity. The language of the King is peculiarly beautiful and animated, mingling familiarity with dignity[t]. It impresses with surprize to see how

Speeches of Henry, and of Coqueley.

[s] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 722—745.

[t] Ibid, vol. xiii. p. 375—384. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 210—214.

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widely they differ from the general style of eloquence, that distinguished the period under our examination.

Many writers in the various branches of historical composition, arose during the lapse of twenty-one years, which intervened between the death of Henry the Third, and the accession of Louis the Thirteenth. Brantome cannot however be reckoned among the number. He is in fact only a dissolute courtier, who neither emulates the praise of genius, nor the distinction of virtue. His "Memoirs," if they can with propriety be so denominated, are either loose biographical sketches, or collections of the amours and gallantries of the court of France. Like Montluc, he composed them in his old age; evidently from the casual recollections of memory. Yet, with every defect of style, order, and language, they will always continue to be read with avidity. The number of amusing anecdotes relative to the most distinguished personages of his time, male and female, that are contained in his works; the picture of manners among the great, which they accurately convey; even the incoherent nature of the production, which wanders in perpetual digressions;—these qualities have an inconceivable charm, and do not suffer the reader to be fatigued or disgusted with his recitals. It is however impossible to apologize for the wanton and perpetual breaches of decency which occur in almost every page. Brantome not only conveys us into the private apartments of queens, of maids of honor, and

Brantome.

Nature of his works.

of ladies of the highest quality; but he presents them to his reader, divested of every veil which decorum, modesty, or rank impose on the sex. They may be said to stand before us, as the Venus of Medicis does, stript of all ornament, or even concealment; tho' in some instances, the writer has thought proper not to divulge the name of his portrait. Pope says,

> " If Queensberry to strip there's no compelling,
> " 'Tis from her handmaid, we must take a Helen."

But Brantome has divested the Clevelands and the Queensberrys of his time, of all drapery or disguise, in the attitudes of Leda, of Danaë, and of Semelé.

We possess no work in the English language, which can be regarded as similar: it is indeed to the honor of our country, that no such register exists of the scandalous excesses committed in the courts of Elizabeth, of James the First, or of Charles the Second. Horace Walpole's " Reminiscences" may perhaps form the nearest approach to it; but, longo intervallo. " Les Memoires de Grammont," the scene of which adventures lies in London, may be considered rather as a production of wit, than a narrative of fact or history. We are amused, as well as surprized, at the panegyrics which Brantome lavishes on personages, who are only known to posterity by their vices, or their profligacy. Margaret, wife of Henry the Fourth, the *Messalina* of the sixteenth century, is his heroine. To her he dedicates his " Lives of " the foreign Commanders of his own Time;"

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as he does the "Vies des Dames Galantes," to her brother Francis, Duke of Alenson[u]. Tho' Brantome may be said to have flourished under the five last kings of Valois, to whose memory and race he is not a little partial, yet he wrote under Henry the Fourth; dying not many years after the assassination of that prince, in 1614, at a very advanced period of life.

Chiverny.

The "Memoirs of State," which bear the name of Chiverny, tho' carrying in them the indelible marks of authenticity, are feeble productions, destitute of entertainment or information; altogether unworthy of a man who having been Lord Keeper of the Seal, or Chancellor of France, under two reigns, during the space of near forty years, must have been conversant in all the secrets of Government. Chiverny, who survived the House of Valois, died in 1599,

L'Etoile.

under Henry the Fourth. L'Etoile is a humble journalist; simple, and only valuable from the number of perishable facts, or daily occurrences, which his industry has preserved from oblivion. The manners of the age are, nevertheless, to be traced in him, more than in the productions of Davila, or de Thou. As he resided in Paris, and held an employment in the Court of Chancery, he possessed the means of collecting a variety of intelligence, which he seems to have

His two journals.

constantly committed to paper. These notes constitute his two works, denominated "Journal d'Henry Trois, et d'Henry Quatre." They include the reigns of those kings, from 1574

[u] Brant. Cap. Etrang. tome i. Dedic. and Dames Gal. tome i. Dedic.

to

to 1610. Every event, important or trifling, births, ceremonies, entertainments, marriages, acts of state, diseases, popular reports, and a thousand other materials are flung together, as they took place, presenting a most curious picture of the time. Dodington's "Diary" conveys only a very inadequate idea of L'Etoile's "Journal," tho' the two books bear a certain species of resemblance. L'Etoile died in 1611, soon after Louis the Thirteenth's accession. He might have said with even more truth, or at least reason, than Juvenal:

> "Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
> "Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli."

Cayet. The two works of Cayet, his "Chronologie Novennaire," and "Septennaire," which taken together, include a period of about fifteen years, comprizing from 1589 to 1604, are laborious and accurate compilations. They contain likewise many secret facts or anecdotes, for which we might vainly seek in an ordinary historian. Cayet, who was originally a Hugonot by religious profession, occupied a place in the family, and near the person of Catherine of Bourbon, Princess of Navarre, sister of Henry the Fourth. That monarch himself distinguished Cayet by his particular favor, and from two such sources he must necessarily have derived the most interesting materials. Nor is his veracity called in question. He died in the same year as Henry, 1610, at Paris, having antecedently abjured the Protestant faith. Matthieu is learned, and entitled to respect, on account of the access

Matthieu.

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cess which his situation, as Historiographer of France, gave him to facts: but neither he nor Cayet deserve to rank as enlightened historians. Yet even after the perusal of Davila and of de Thou, Matthieu offers ample matter of information, as well as of amusement. Henry the Fourth himself furnished the Historiographer with papers and memoirs, for the elucidation of his own reign, as well as for composing the history of his five immediate predecessors, from Francis the First, inclusively to Henry the Third. Neither Lord Clarendon nor Burnet, among us, tho' one was Chancellor, and the other sat on the bench of bishops; could challenge greater authenticity, or justly claim for their assertions, more implicit belief.

Sully.

The works of Sully, denominated "Economies royales," offer a vast mass of undigested materials, letters, papers, and documents, heaped together with little order or selection. They present notwithstanding collectively, an animated, as well as an accurate portrait of Henry the Fourth; whom they depicture as equally amiable and dignified, though they neither conceal his defects, nor palliate his errors.

Comprehensive nature of his memoirs.

It is in this chaos of matter, that we must discover the state of the French finances at his accession, and their progressive amelioration from that time, down to the period of his death. Sully, considered as an historian, derives no more literary claim to respect from his "Memoirs," than Vieilleville, or Tavannes. Like them, he never comes forward in the first person;

son; and in the composition of the work, he appears not to have had any personal share. His "Memoirs," are in fact only recollections, preserved by four of his official secretaries, who addressing their master, remind him of the facts which they record, as monuments of his public services, to be perpetuated to future times. It may even excite some surprize, that during his long retreat of more than thirty years from public business, subsequent to the assassination of Henry, he should not have been impelled by the ambition of composing an original work; and after attaining the praise of a great minister, statesman, and financier, have emulated the fame of an illustrious historian.

With all these defects of style and manner, the "Economies Royales," of Sully, constitute the most valuable compilation of historical matter, which has been given to the world by any minister of state in modern ages. Neither Richlieu, nor Mazarin, nor Colbert, nor Louvois, nor Choiseul, have left us such memorials of their ability; or furnished such information respecting the state of the French monarchy, its resources and finances, under their respective administrations. Nor is Sully by any means limited to official details of ministerial arrangements, or to operations of the cabinet and the field. His work, which may be said to embrace nearly forty years, from 1572, down to 1610, comprehends an infinite variety of interesting subjects. From the council table, he carries us successively into the recesses of the Louvre,

Value and utility.

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Louvre, to Fontainbleau, and to Monceaux. We are present at the toilet of Gabrielle d'Estreës; we witness the domestic quarrels of the King and Queen, and are admitted to the interviews of Henry with Henrietta d'Entragues. Sully displays the turbulent Counts of Soissons and of Auvergne; the Dukes of Epernon, Biron, Bouillon, Rohan, and all the illustrious personages of that period, who pass in review before our eyes, pourtrayed by the first minister of the French crown; if not with the graces and ornaments of composition, yet with truth and perfect information. Lord Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," tho' far superior, considered as a literary production, is limited in its range; whereas Sully offers a shifting picture of a thousand hues, and of endless variety, from which we may form a perfect estimate of France, as it existed under the last prince of the House of Valois, and the first sovereign of the Bourbon line.

D'Aubigné.

One of the most original, eccentric, and entertaining historians of the period under our review, is D'Aubigné. His "Histoire Universelle," contains the transactions of half a century, from 1550, down to 1601. Sully himself hardly possessed better means of describing Henry the Fourth, than did D'Aubigné; whose natural brother he was commonly supposed to be, son of Anthony, King of Navarre. We cannot, however, lend quite the same unqualified belief to him, as Sully challenges from us; especially in the description of the court, character,

racter, and actions of Henry the Third, whom he pourtrays as another Heliogabalus, or like Tiberius in the isle of Capræa. We may judge of the nature of his work, and of the impression which it made on the public mind thro'out France, when we know that the parliament of Paris ordered it to be burnt, on its first appearance, in 1616, under Louis the Thirteenth. D'Aubigné himself, who was a zealous Protestant, had previously taken refuge beyond the limits of the French dominions, at Geneva, where he found a secure asylum; and in which city he died, in 1630, at eighty years of age. That Republic, by the honors and distinctions conferred on him, endeavoured to compensate for his exile from his native country. A work infinitely more calculated to interest every reader, than his "History," tho' of a much more contracted description, is "Les Memoires de la Vie de d'Aubigné;" written by him in the first person, with an energy, boldness, and strength of colouring, which compel attention, while they force conviction, notwithstanding the romantic and almost incredible nature of many anecdotes or facts contained in it. The ardent, impetuous, enthusiastic, fearless, undisguised, intractable, and elevated character of its author, incapable of flattery even towards those whom he most loved or honored, pervades every sentiment, and tinges every occurrence. Love, chivalry, devotion, arms, and letters, occupy him in turn. Perhaps in these points

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His two works.

Their eccentricity.

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points of view, it stands alone among modern compositions. "Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Memoirs" bear a faint resemblance to d'Aubigné's, but have not the same fire and originality. He wrote them in his old age, at Geneva, apparently from memory, like Montluc; and he addresses them to his sons. Thro'out the whole work, while relating many occurrences, he refers for more ample details of them, to his "Histoire Universelle," already published in 1616. D'Aubigné was grandfather to Madame de Maintenon.

Davila.

Davila is a writer of a very different description. Though by birth an Italian, in which language he composed his "History of the Civil Wars of France," in fifteen books; yet, as he passed a considerable part of his life in the service of that kingdom, the events of which country he records, he may justly be regarded in the light of a native. Bolingbroke, who was so well able to appreciate literary merit, has not hesitated to place him in competition with Livy [x]. Even if so high an encomium should appear exaggerated, he will always occupy one of the most distinguished eminences among modern historians. He is neither diffuse, nor prolix, nor digressive, nor affected. His narration instructs not less than it pleases, by the penetration which it discovers, the hidden springs of action which it developes, and the intimate acquaintance with the human heart

Character of his history.

[x] Letters on the Study of History, letter v.

and

and its principles of conduct, which it displays in every page. Rarely wandering from the precise limits of his work, he contains little information upon the events which took place in the surrounding states of Europe, during the period of thirty-eight years, from 1560 to 1598, which he embraces. Having been early brought to the court of Henry the Third, and honored with the protection of that sovereign, as well as with the immediate patronage of the Queen-dowager Catherine of Medicis, he must have had access to the highest information. But, naturally partial to those princes from whom he had received so many benefits or favors, he should be read with some caution, when speaking of their motives or actions: an observation equally applicable to Clarendon, in all his opinions respecting the character or conduct of Charles the First. Davila can scarcely be considered as commemorating contemporary events, his history terminating with the peace of Vervins between France and Spain, when he had only attained his twenty-second year. Yet, as he was present at almost every memorable transaction which took place between 1588, and 1598; and as he had lived with the most distinguished persons who composed the courts of the two last princes of the House of Valois; we may regard his assertions as entitled to implicit credit, on ordinary subjects. He composed his history, after he had quitted the service of Henry the Fourth, and had retired to Venice. We cannot help reflecting with concern, that

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so

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so distinguished a man should have fallen a victim to revenge; having perished by the knife of a vile assassin, while travelling in the Venetian territories, in the midst of his numerous family. He was murdered in 1631, when only fifty-five years of age, leaving behind him an immortal reputation.

De Thou.

But the palm of historic merit and celebrity under Henry the Fourth, nevertheless belongs incontestably to de Thou. Perhaps it may not be too much to say, that since the great models of antiquity, Greek and Roman, no person so illustrious in that branch of composition, has arisen among European nations. Machiavel and Comines, who preceded him, have not equalled, and Guicciardini has not exceeded, his reputation. France, so fertile under Louis the Fourteenth, in almost every other species of genius, gave birth to no historic writer who can be placed in competition with him. Giannoné, tho' admirable in many points of view, is every way his inferior. Posterity will better decide, whether the names of Hume, Robertson, or Gibbon, are worthy to emulate an equality with de Thou. These distinguished writers unquestionably surpassed him in the graces of literary composition, in splendor of diction, and in all the factitious ornaments of style. But, they flourished in the eighteenth century, when knowledge and refinement were widely diffused. De Thou lived in the sixteenth: for he died in 1617, at the age of sixty-four, and the first part of his work appeared in 1604. Another most important dis-

Superiority of his works.

distinction which will for ever exist between the British writers, and the French historian, is that the latter composed the history of *his own time*, from 1545, down to 1607, in one hundred and thirty-eight books. He had been either an eye witness of the principal transactions which he records; or he might have received the most accurate information respecting them, from his father, the celebrated Christopher de Thou, First President of the Parliament, and from other unquestionable authorities. De Thou, therefore, possesses the double merit of commemorating not merely events; but, contemporary events.

Comparison of de Thou, with the English historians.

Our historians cannot pretend to the slightest parity or competition with him, in this particular. Hume did not bring down his "History of England," lower than 1688, a point of time at least sixty years earlier than the period of its publication. Robertson's fame rests on the commemoration of events of the *sixteenth* century, which passed either in Scotland, on the continent of Europe, or beyond the Atlantic, in America. Gibbon is the historian of antient Rome. Lord Clarendon and Burnet may, therefore, more aptly enter into some comparison with de Thou, than can any of our great historians. Voltaire, however pre-eminent in talents, and formed to delight in whatever walk of letters he preferred, is rather a beautiful and seductive writer, than a laborious, accurate, or profound historian.

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Sentiments of du Perron

The merits of de Thou were fully acknowledged by his contemporaries, and avowed even by those persons who most condemned or reprobated his political opinions. "The "Cardinals Aquaviva, Visconti, Sforza, and "others of the sacred College, whose minds "are elevated above the ordinary capacity "of men," says the Cardinal du Perron, writing from Rome in 1606, to the historian himself, "are never weary of praising and "celebrating your works; which they place "in the first rank after Sallust, Tacitus, and "the other antient luminaries of the Roman "history[y]." It is to be observed that at the commencement of the seventeenth century, Italy pretended to the undisputed supremacy in deciding upon the nature of literary productions, and stamping their precise meed of fame. "If Alexander," adds du Perron at the close of his letter, "prized his labors in "the hope of being commended by the Athe-"nians, so much greater satisfaction ought you "to feel at being praised by the wits of Italy, "who generally on the article of judgment, "carry away the palm from all others."[z]

on his history.

Persecution of de Thou,

Notwithstanding these public and deserved eulogiums, such were the prejudices of the age in which he wrote, and so dangerous was it to manifest any tendency towards toleration in matters of religion, that the history of de

[y] De Thou, vol. xv. Pieces supplem. p 160.
[z] De Thou, vol. xv. Pieces supplem. p. 160.

Thou

Thou could not escape being publickly condemned at Rome. The first eighteen books, which appeared in 1604, drew down the vengeance of all the zealots thro'out Europe. Even the powerful interposition of some members of the college of Cardinals, who from the expansion of their minds, knew how to admire and honor the author, was vainly exerted to prevent its being placed in the list of works prohibited by the "Index expurgatorius[a]." Carracioli, who was charged to draw up the sentence, declared that "it was not possible to doubt of his "being a Calvinist; and as such, that he ought "to be ranked among the heretics of the first "class[b]." The censure was published in November, 1609[c]. We cannot wonder that the generous and unrestrained impartiality with which he speaks of the Hugonot chiefs; or, that the language of detestation in which he mentions the acts of perfidy, intolerance, and cruelty, exercised against them by Charles the Ninth, and the heads of "the League;" should excite clamors in the Papal court. Even in that of France, these noble ebullitions of genius and elevation of sentiment, procured him numerous, as well as inveterate enemies. Henry the Fourth himself was not proof to the contagion. If de Thou had flourished half a century earlier, or if Paul the Fifth had been animated with the

and condemnation at Rome.

[a] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 7, 8. De Thou, vol. xv. Pieces supplem. p. 146—155, and p. 159.

[b] De Thou, vol. xv. Pieces supplem. p. 141.

[c] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 207, 208.

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spirit of many of his predecessors in the chair of St. Peter; de Thou might in all probability have been committed to the flames, as Palearius and Carnesecchi had been, scarcely forty years before, under the pontificate of Pius the Fifth. Neither his eminent virtues, nor the lustre of his talents, could have protected him from the researches of the inquisition.

Sublimity of his history.

All the majesty and dignity of historic composition are blended in his works, with the most unaffected simplicity. His comprehensive talents encircle Europe in their grasp, combining the events of its most remote states or kingdoms, with the annals of the French monarchy. It is difficult to appreciate the merit of so expanded a principle, at a period when the different European countries did not come into continual, or even frequent contact with each other, as they do in the present age. He is the biographer, as well as the historian, of every person eminent for parts or merit, between the accession of Henry the Second, and 1607; comprizing a period of sixty years. It is to be regretted, that either his health, or his various avocations, did not permit him to continue his labours down to 1610, the conclusion of the reign of Henry the Fourth. Burnet's "History of his own Times," a work which, tho' at a vast distance, may emulate some resemblance with de Thou; stops in like manner at the year 1713, only twelve months before the extinction of the Stuart line in the person of Queen Anne, who died in 1714. Perhaps it may likewise

wise form subject of concern, that de Thou preferred the Latin language to his own; not only because French would have embraced a wider circle of readers, but, as it has involved him in some obscurity on the article of proper names, places, and nations. It was impossible that a man who enclosed so vast a compass, and who wrote upon contemporary or recent events, should not sometimes compose from erroneous documents, or partial materials. If we were inclined to criticize, or to point out the blemishes of so sublime a production, we might possibly think that it is too diffuse, and that if compressed, it would have been more valuable. His enemies have attempted to censure him for partiality on many points. But, the partialities of de Thou, supposing that such are admitted to exist, do not originate in party spirit, like those of which Hume and Burnet are accused. They are only the laudable predilections or attachments of a virtuous and patriotic citizen, towards the succession of the sceptre in the house of Bourbon, for the majesty of the French throne, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the general felicity of the people.

CHAP. III. 1589—1610. Its blemishes.

Few writers in the walk of polite letters, whose reputation has survived the lapse of more than two centuries, or has passed the limits of France, appeared under Henry the Fourth. Isaac Casaubon, a Protestant by profession, was a native of Geneva, tho' he remained several years in the court, and under the immediate

Casaubon.

CHAP. III.

1589—1610. Erudition of his writings.

protection of that prince [d], by whom he was appointed to the office of Librarian. After Henry's tragical end, Casaubon visited England, where James the First extended to him a liberal patronage, and his remains repose among us in Westminster Abbey. He died in 1614, at the age of fifty-five, having attained to the summit of that species of literary fame, which erudition, combined with laborious application, can confer on their possessor; and to which Bentley attained in this country. To original genius Casaubon had little pretension, and he is chiefly known to us in the present age, by his learned commentaries on Theophrastus, Athenæus, Polybius, Strabo, and various other Greek or Roman writers: commentaries which display an extensive and profound acquaintance with all the sources of antient knowledge.

Scaliger.

Joseph Scaliger, tho' born in France, yet having early embraced the reformed religion, retired in the evening of life to Leyden; where he received from the liberality of the Dutch, the recompence denied to his talents by his own countrymen [e]. Henry the Fourth appears to have treated him with a degree of neglect; and as Casaubon breathed his last in London, so Scaliger expired at Leyden, in 1609, at an advanced period of life. His father, Julius Scaliger, had acquired a prodigious reputation by his learning, and by his productions in various

Joseph and Julius.

[d] Biog. Dict. vol. iii. p. 179—183.

[e] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 52, 53. Biog. Dict. vol. xi. p. 309—312.

branches of science, as well as of polite letters. Joseph emulated and equalled, if he did not excel Julius, in these particulars. Chronology, history, criticism, by turns exercised his pen; and tho' his dogmatical or dictatorial manners raised him many opponents, yet his name, even in the nineteenth century, stands pre-eminent for classical attainments, among the moderns. Both Casaubon and Scaliger died among foreigners, in a species of exile. Both, tho' incontestably men of extraordinary endowments, and who have enriched the world by their labors; were rather critics eminent for profound erudition, than distinguished by that elegance of talents which constitutes the aptitude for polite letters. Stephen Pasquier is at once a learned, animated, and entertaining writer, in almost every branch of composition. Inferior to Casaubon and to Scaliger, in the walk of antient literature, he is superior to both, in other, and more elegant researches of taste or enquiry. His "Epistles" contain a number of interesting anecdotes, biographical, as well as historical; and his "Recherches sur la France," offer similar information or amusement. Even his poetic works, both French and Latin, may be perused with pleasure. Pasquier died at Paris, in 1615, having attained to eighty-seven years of age.

CHAP. III. 1589—1610.

Pasquier.

One of the most amusing productions of the period, which blends infinite humor with the keenest shafts of ridicule, is the "Satyre Menippee." It appeared in 1594, and produced no inconsiderable effect in decrying, as well as in exposing

"Satyre Menippee."

CHAP. III. 1589—1610.

exposing to a degree of general derision, the party and principles of "the League[f];" in the same manner as Butler among us, about seventy years later, held up to universal laughter, the manners and tenets of the republican Puritans, in the poem of "Hudibras." We should be at a loss to compare it with any similar production in the English language. Neither the "Rehearsal," attributed to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, nor "Hudibras," nor the "Tale of a Tub," nor the "Rolliad," tho' all of them may in different ways be considered as models of irony, wit, and satire, bear any strict analogy or resemblance to the "Satyre Menippee." A canon of the cathedral of Rouen, named Le Roy, is commonly supposed to have commenced it; but having left it imperfect, other men of genius prosecuted and completed the work[g]. Passerat and Rapin are placed at their head. The former, a poet, and professor of eloquence in the university of Paris, no less than an accomplished scholar; was distinguished by the favor of the two last kings of the Valois line, and died in 1602, at Paris. La Fontaine, the "Gay" of France, unequalled in his "Fables," is said to have owed great obligations to Passerat's productions, on which models he formed some of his own inimitable compositions. Nicholas Rapin, Passerat's coadjutor in the "Satyre Me-

Passerat.

Rapin.

[f] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 286, 287. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 702. D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 287.

[g] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 702. Satyre Men. vol. i. Avis. p. 16, 17. Esprit de la Ligue, vol. i. Ouvrages cités, p. 36, 37.

nippee,"

nippee," obtained great celebrity under Henry the Third and Fourth. The convocation of the States General at Paris by the Duke of Mayenne, at which assembly in a special manner, is levelled the force of their ridicule; received from it an injury in the public estimation, which rebounded on the faction itself, and on all the partizans of Spain. CHAP. III. 1589—1610.

In this line of composition, we ought not to omit the "Confession de Sancy," written by the celebrated Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, of whom ample mention has been already made as an historian; in which work, united with great erudition and uncommon energy, as well as ability, we trace all the malevolent asperity characteristic of the author. It seems to have been published towards the commencement of the seventeenth century[h]. The local and personal nature of these Satires, as well as the affected obscurity of many passages in both, have contributed to diminish their reputation, and to consign them to a premature oblivion. It would be unjust not to include among the men of genius, who illuminated and illustrated the period by their writings, the two Cardinals, d'Ossat and du Perron. Both, from slender commencements, rose by merit to the highest dignities and honors of the Romish church. Both rendered services to their country, as statesmen, or as ministers. Yet never were two individuals more "Confession de Sancy." Cardinals d'Ossat, and du Perron.

[h] Confess. de Sancy, Preface, 33—39.

dis-

CHAP. III. 1589—1610.

dissimilar in their character, endowments, and formation of mind. D'Ossat, sprung from the most obscure origin, after having distinguished himself at the bar, where he attained great celebrity, entered on the diplomatic profession, as secretary to the French embassador at Rome, under the reign of Henry the Third. In that court he proved highly instrumental to the reconciliation of Henry the Fourth with the Holy See, under the pontificate of Clement the Eighth. Du Perron's extraction, more distinguished, and the early brilliancy of his talents, made him known to Henry the Third, through the intervention of Desportes the poet, who presented him to that prince. His own address, activity, and shining parts, accomplished the rest. The two Cardinals form a striking contrast. D'Ossat challenges our esteem. Du Perron lays claim to our admiration. Probity, solidity, and disinterestedness of character, recommend the first to our respect. The latter attracts by the graces of oratory, and the splendor of intellectual attainments. Du Perron ranked higher among his contemporaries. D'Ossat is placed on a greater eminence by posterity. The works of du Perron, both in prose and in poetry, tho' read during his life, are perhaps deservedly consigned by the present age, to oblivion: while the "Letters" of D'Ossat, which may be considered as a series of ministerial dispatches from the French envoy at the court of Rome, continue to be perused with equal entertainment and instruction, as models

Comparison of their productions.

models of composition in that line, at the end of more than two centuries. CHAP. III.

The names of Bodin and of Vignier, who excited the admiration of their contemporaries, are now almost obliterated by time. We may nevertheless remark of the former writer, that he was known and celebrated in England, not less than in France, during his life. His first, and most conspicuous work, published at Paris in 1576, entitled "De la Republique," after being translated into Latin in this country, was publickly taught in the University of Cambridge. We shall perhaps be inclined to think more highly of Bodin's genius, from knowing that Montesquieu himself is generally supposed or believed to have transposed many of his ideas into the "Esprit des Loix." There is unquestionably a striking similarity between the opinions of the two writers, upon various points, physical, as well as moral, connected with government and legislation. But, Montesquieu matured and perfected the rude materials left by Bodin, who seems to have been as much of a visionary, as a man possessing superior endowments of mind. In his "Demonomanie," or "Traité des Sorciers," which he wrote in 1587, he insinuates the same thing that Cardan positively asserts; namely that he was constantly accompanied by a familiar demon who directed all his steps and actions. Bodin even proceeds so far as to declare, that this genius or spirit made itself known to him in a visible manner in 1567, when he had attained

1589—1610. Bodin.

Originality and eccentricity of his writings.

CHAP. III. 1589—1610.

tained his thirty-seventh year; adding, that it touched him on the right ear, as often as he did a good action, or on the left ear, whenever he committed a bad act. This extraordinary man died in 1596, of the plague, at Laön in Picardy. His political principles were not less republican, than those of Harrington, of Ludlow, or of Algernon Sydney among us. Vignier, his contemporary, acquired great reputation by his medicinal skill, joined to historical information of every kind. Henry the Third made him Historiographer of France; and he left behind him numerous works elucidatory of the antiquities of his native country, both in the French, and in the Latin languages, which may still be consulted with great improvement.[i]

Vignier.

Geography.

Geography appears not to have advanced beyond its first rudiments, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thevet had indeed published a map of France, before 1593; but it was a very defective work[k]. He received marks of protection from Catherine of Medicis, who besides appointing him her almoner, procured for him the titles of "Historiographer and Cosmographer royal." Like Tavernier, Thevenot, and Tournefort, who succeeded him in the same career under Louis the Fourteenth; Thevet travelled over a great portion of Europe, as well as thro' Egypt, Palestine, and

Thevet.

[i] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 33—35. Dic. Hist. vols. ii. and ix. Articles, Bodin and Vignier.

[k] Dict. Hist. vol. ix. Art. Thevet. Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 129, note.

Greece,

Greece, before he gave any of his geographical charts to the world. He even visited the Brazils, a part of the southern continent of America, then little known or explored. La Guillotière, who died in 1594, was a man of superior talents, and greater accuracy[l]; but in an age of civil war and calamity, his talents could not secure him from poverty. Charts, which were usually drawn with the pen, not engraven, as in the present age; seem to have been rather preserved in the Museums of men of taste and letters, or among the collections of princes, than intended for sale[m]. In 1608 we find Sully, by order of the King, dispatching engineers, in order to make exact charts and surveys of the frontiers of France: from the specimen left us of its execution, it seems to have been performed with care and ability. The object intended by Henry and his minister, was nevertheless political, not literary or scientific in any respect.[n]

CHAP. III. 1589—1610. La Guillotiere. Charts.

If France proved less exuberant of poets under Henry the Fourth, than during the reigns of the last princes of Valois; a circumstance partly to be accounted for, by the liberal patronage which those kings extended to men of genius; the paucity of numbers was in some measure compensated by the appearance of Malherbe. With him the French language began to assume correctness, purity, and grace.

Poetry. Malherbe.

[l] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 58, 59.
[m] Idem. ibid.
[n] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 222, 223.

He

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He is nevertheless, in all other respects inferior to Ronsard. His productions are in general short, feeble, courtly, and composed on fugitive or temporary occasions. Malherbe, who rarely attempts the sublime, is rather exempt from faults, than abounding in beauties. He seems to have been overrated by Balzac and by Boileau; who, charmed with the chastity and clearness of his verses, demanded no other qualities in a poet°. Voltaire has reduced him to his proper place, and just dimensions: he is nevertheless read and tasted, after two hundred years, though he will not sustain a comparison with the poetic writers of the age of Louis the Fourteenth. Malherbe died at seventy-three, in 1628, under the reign of Louis the Thirteenth. Like Gray among us, slow in composing, he left behind him only a few productions; but he falls far below the sublimity or beauty of the English poet, to whom he is inferior in every attribute of true genius. We may hesitate whether Malherbe ought to rank above Waller and Cowley, or even on an equality with those English poets; the latter of whom, in his odes and lyric compositions, may of the two, be most aptly compared to him. It must not however be forgotten, that both Waller and Cowley flourished near half a century later than Malherbe.

Character of his compositions.

Regnier.

Regnier acquired a considerable reputation by his Satires, during the last ten years of the

° Balzac, Lett. latine a Selhon. Boileau, Art poetique, chant. i.

reign

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reign under our review. He is usually obscure, and almost always libertine. Even his best poetic productions, are servile imitations of Horace, Ovid, Persius, or Juvenal: yet, as the species of poetic composition was new, and as there is no deficiency in animation, energy, or warmth, in his Satires and elegies, he still preserves a place among the poets of the time. The celebrated Mademoiselle Scuderi, in her romance of "Clelia," so much read in the seventeenth century, has mentioned him with applause. Even Boileau, while he admits his indecency, yet speaks of him in terms of respect [p]. Like our Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, Regnier expired at the early age of forty, in 1613, extenuated by the immoderate pursuit of licentious pleasures. He may be said to hold nearly the same rank among the French poets, as Rochester does among us. The same profligate wit, devoid of the restraints of decorum or modesty, characterize both writers; whose compositions are now only read by the sensual or depraved.

His licentiousness.

Chretien, and du Bartas, however admired they might have been, two hundred years ago, are nearly unknown to the present age [q]. Both were personally attached to Henry, King of Navarre, whom they lived to see ascend the throne of France; tho' neither the one, nor

[p] Clelie, tome viii. liv. ii. p. 587. Boileau, Art. poetique, chant. x.

[q] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 231, 232; and vol. xiii. p. 36, 37; and vol. xiv. p. 59, 60; and vol. xv. p. 30. Regnier, vol. i. Satyre ix. p. 134. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 198.

the

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the other, survived to witness the complete destruction of "the League." Chretien, originally a Hugonot, was appointed one of Henry's preceptors, in the discharge of which office he acquired great reputation. His poetic works, especially his Satires, were said to be the productions of his imagination, not of his heart; and he appears to have merited the character given to Charles, Earl of Dorset, by Lord Rochester, of

Chretien.

"The best good man with the worst natured muse."

Du Bartas.

Du Bartas may serve as a beacon to future men of genius, in order to warn the most sanguine, how precarious and uncertain are the foundations of contemporary fame, often overturned by posterity. His poem, entitled "La Semaine," written on the subject of the creation of the world by the Divine Being in the space of seven days, excited the admiration of all France: however incredible the fact may seem, more than thirty editions of it were published, within five or six years after its first appearance. Yet it is now fallen into as complete oblivion among the French, as the epic poem of the "Creation," composed by our own countryman, Sir Richard Blackmore, of whom Pope says, that he

"Wrote to the rumbling of his coach's wheels."

Preference given to the Latin language.

Notwithstanding the successful efforts made by Malherbe to purify and to refine the French language, Latin continued to form the favorite vehicle

vehicle for the lighter effusions of wit, taste, and satire, even in the court. Many of these productions, which display all the neatness of Martial, may rank with the best Epigrams of that poet. The lines written by Rapin, of whom mention has been already made, on the death of the Chevalier d'Aumale, who was killed in the attack of St. Denis, where the remains of the kings of France, then inspired even rebels with respect; are peculiarly happy in the allusions to Polyxena and to Pompey.

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" Ut Phrygio, cecidit Priaimëia littore, virgo,
" Ad Busti hostilis marmora, jussa mori:
" Ut gèneri ad statuam, non uno Julius ictu;
" Et victor, victi corruit ante pedes:
" Sic hostis regum, regum ad monumenta suorum
" Procumbens, merita cæde, cruentat humum.
" Nunc gaudete pii; nam cum hæc regalibus umbris
" Victima dat pœnas, et probat esse deos." [r]

We cannot help recollecting, while we peruse these lines, that spoilers more savage than the Chevalier d'Aumale, have in our own time broken open the sepulchres of so many kings who reposed in splendid funereal pomp at St. Denis, the Westminster Abbey of France; where almost all the princes of the Capetian line have been interred since the middle of the fourteenth century, down to the year 1774.

The verses, composed on the pardon of Henrietta, Marchioness of Verneuil, in 1605, after the conspiracy of the family of Entragues,

[r] Satyre Men. vol. i. p. 209.

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against Henry the Fourth, may be considered as equally beautiful. We shall probably admit their claim to praise, even tho' we should detect the plagiarisms committed by the anonymous author, on Catullus, or on Virgil.

"Mors & amor, dubio Henricæ de funere certant,
"Et voti causas reddit uterque sui.
"Jactat amor formam, et molles commendat ocellos:
"Mors, scelus, et miseræ crimina nota refert.
"Sub Jove res acta est, cæcum qui pectore toto
"Vulnus alit: victo judice, vicit amor."[s]

Drama.

The French Drama remained still in a very rude and imperfect state, during the period which we are reviewing. Comedy possessed neither elegance nor refinement: even the pieces represented before the court, seem to have been only a sort of farces, calculated to excite mirth by a coarse delineation of manners, at the expence of decorum, and of respect for the civil power[t]. Tragedy had not yet awoke, and Corneille was hardly born in 1610, at the termination of Henry the Fourth's reign. Garnier, who died in 1590, had succeeded to the fame of Jodelle; but his productions are now forgotten, or of little estimation.[u]

Fine arts.

No school for painting, architecture, or sculpture, had been yet formed in France; nor does the age seem to have produced any artists of celebrity, in either of those elegant

[s] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 71.
[t] Ibid. p. 140—142. Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 386.
[u] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 232.

branches

branches of art. Vouet must, in strict chronological acceptation, be considered as belonging to the reign of Louis the Thirteenth; though many of his early productions bear date anterior to that Prince's accession, when he had already attained his twenty-eighth year. He was the father of painting among the French, but far inferior in strength of genius, as well as in vigor of execution, to his contemporary and successor Nicholas Poussin, the *Raphael* of France. Medals, commemorative of the principal events of Henry's reign, or containing allusions to his political situation, were annually struck in the royal mint, and presented to him by Sully. Many of them display considerable elegance of classical taste, and might have been offered to Augustus, to Vespasian, or to Trajan. In 1588, Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, having availed himself of the troubles of the French monarchy, then convulsed by the ambition of the second Duke of Guise, to seize on the Marquisate of Saluzzo; and being desirous to perpetuate the remembrance of an act, which, however contrary to the treaties subsisting between him and Henry the Third, augmented so greatly his power and dominions, caused a medal to be struck of a very insolent nature. It represented a Centaur trampling under his feet a royal crown, with the single word "opportunè" annexed as an inscription. But, before he ventured on thus insulting the sovereign, whom he had previously injured and despoiled, Charles Emanuel should have been

Medals.

Their taste and execution.

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better assured of permanently retaining his usurpation. After the short and successful campaign carried on against Savoy in 1600, terminated by the cession of the two provinces of Bresse and Bugey to Henry the Fourth; Sully chose for his master's device, at the commencement of the following year, a Hercules vanquishing a Centaur, and replacing a crown: under the figures was inscribed "opportunius [x]." Several others of the mottos or emblems engraven by his directions, as well as the allusions selected, which are uncommonly beautiful, display an intimate acquaintance with all the most interesting or picturesque passages in the history of antient Greece and Rome. [y]

Erudition,

The age was strongly characterized by its erudition and love of antient learning. Even soldiers and statesmen emulated the praise of scholars. The younger Biron, who had passed his whole life in camps, was nevertheless, as we learn from d'Aubigné, intimately acquainted with Greek; though he studiously concealed it, or felt an awkward shame at its discovery [z]. Ecclesiastics not only read and conversed, but thought in Latin. We find the Archbishop of Bourges, when expiring in 1606, addressing himself to his confessor in that language; as he

peculiarly of the clergy.

[x] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 8.

[y] Idem, p. 40, and p. 62. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 382. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 128, 129.

[z] D'Aub. Hist. Univ. vol. iii. p. 487.

had

had done during the whole progress of his distemper, to the assistants about his person. His pulse fluttering previous to his dissolution, he demanded, " Heu ! quænam, et quanta hæc est " agitatio ?" The priest replying, " Majora " pro te, passus est Christus ;" the dying prelate answered, " Majora, peccata mea meruere; " sed, per effusionem sanguinis Christi, reme- " dium animæ meæ spero." He breathed his last, a few moments afterwards [a]. It is difficult to peruse this anecdote, and particularly the confessor's answer, in which he reminds the expiring Archbishop of the greater sufferings which Christ had endured for him ; without recollecting the sublime exhortation of the Abbé Edgworth to Louis the Sixteenth, as he prepared to submit himself to the operation of the Guillotine. That most unfortunate monarch, who fell the victim of his own inert and mistaken policy in not early opposing popular innovation ; standing on the scaffold, and evidently yielding to the terrors of approaching death, the Abbé, on his knees, holding up his hands to Heaven, exclaimed, " Sire, " suivez votre modele jusqu 'au bout !"

Instance.

Not only history, but almost all productions of controversy, theology, and medicine, were more frequently written in the Latin, than in the French language, under Henry the Fourth [b].

[a] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 124, 125.

[b] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 205, 206. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 37, 38.

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Literary enthusiasm.

Great literary enthusiasm animated men of letters. Hadrien Romanus, says de Thou, having proposed a problem to all the mathematicians of the globe, it was resolved in an instant, by Francis Viete of Fontenay in Poitou, who returned it with additions and corrections, to its author. We have already made mention of this distinguished geometrician. Overcome equally with surprize and veneration at such a display of talents, Romanus immediately set off from Wurtzburg in Franconia, in order to see and converse with him. Arriving at Paris, he found that Viete had quitted the metropolis, for the purpose of retiring to his native province: but far from relaxing in his pursuit, Romanus resumed his journey. The two literati passed a month together, charmed with each other's society. As an acknowledgment of the honor conferred on him, Viete caused his friend to be re-conducted to the frontiers of France, and all his expences to be defrayed [c]. We cannot help admiring such mutual testimonies of distinction, paid to eminent talents, while we admit that neither such ardor nor such generosity characterize the present age.

Example of it.

University of Paris.

The university of Paris seems, notwithstanding the convulsions and ravages of civil war, to have rapidly recovered, after the submission of the capital in 1594 to Henry. How numerous were the students at the close of that year, we may infer, when l'Etoile assures us, that

Numbers of students.

[c] De Thou, vol xiv. p. 162—164.

such

such was the consternation occasioned by Chatel's attempt to assassinate the King, as to stop more than six hundred who had already set out, from proceeding on their journey to the metropolis, and to occasion nearly as many more to leave the university[d]. Its discipline had become so relaxed, that in 1598 it was judged indispensable to examine and revise the statutes, enacted by the Cardinal d'Estouteville, about a century and a half earlier, under the reign of Charles the Seventh. The Archbishop of Bourges was placed at the head of a commission, expressly appointed for the purpose, by the crown. That prelate having assembled the rector, deans, and professors in the four faculties of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and arts; de Thou, the celebrated historian, harangued them in the name of the parliament of Paris. The new regulations were then read, which were principally directed to inculcate, and to enforce obedience to the sovereign, to the civil magistrates, and to the laws. Servin, who filled the office of attorney-general, added a separate exhortation to each of the faculties. He advised the theologians to quit all polemical books of divinity, in order to adhere solely to the Bible, as the only rule of conduct. It is amusing to observe, that he enjoins the professors of physic, "to peruse carefully the works "of the divine Hippocrates, to follow his pre-"cepts, and on no consideration to run into

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Renewal of the discipline.

Particulars of it.

[d] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 68, 69.

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"empiricism[e]." Notwithstanding the renovation of the statutes, the discipline continued to be so defective, that in the succeeding year, it was found necessary to name four Censors, by express direction of the parliament[f]. L'Etoile says that in 1605, during the fair then held in the suburb of St. Germain, the students, pages, and lacqueys became so riotous, as to endanger the public tranquillity. They drew up, and engaged in regular bodies. One of the lacqueys having cut off a student's ears, and put them in his pocket, the students fell upon the lacqueys, wounded, and killed numbers of them.[g]

Censors named.

Protection of letters by Henry.

It cannot with perfect regard to truth be asserted, that Henry the Fourth extended as munificent a protection to arts and letters, as distinguished Francis the First, or Henry the Third. He loved, cultivated, and rewarded their professors, but it was without enthusiasm. He came to the crown when it was impoverished by civil war, and like his contemporary, Elizabeth, he was economical from natural disposition. D'Aubigné, who knew him thoroughly, assures us, that he held reading in detestation, and rarely looked into a book. Sully had little taste for productions of genius, and no predilection for expensive gratifications. If however, Henry did not carry his passion for science and the elegant attainments of the mind, to so

[e] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 449—454. [f] Ibid. p. 454, 455.
[g] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 71.

great

great a height as some of his predecessors; he was on the other hand, far from neglecting or despising such researches, in other persons. He invited Casaubon into France, settled on him a considerable stipend, and made him first librarian. We may see in his own letters to his minister, how warm an interest he took in the affair, and how personally he urged the care of Casaubon, as peculiarly near his heart[h]. Malherbe, who was made a gentleman of the bedchamber, had a pension, as well as a table and apartments, provided for him at the expence of the crown[i]. Matthieu held the office of Historiographer of France, with considerable appointments[k]. The second Margaret of Valois, Queen of Henry the Fourth, who with the vices, inherited many of the characteristic virtues and great qualities of the house from which she sprung, was during her whole life, the patroness of letters and science.[l]

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Casaubon.

Malherbe.

Matthieu.

The French seminaries of education for youth, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, appear to have been as defective, as the system of education was bad in itself. The Jesuits, after their recal in 1604, became the favorite instructors and preceptors throughout France; but they did not effect their establishment in the principal cities of the kingdom, without

Seminaries and system of education, defective.

[h] Mem. de d'Aubigné, p. 126. Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 395, and p. 440. Biogr. Dict. vol. iii. p. 180—182.

[i] Poesies de Malherbe, vie, p. 13, 14.

[k] Matthieu, vol. i. Dedication.

[l] Vie de Marg. p. 398, 399, and p. 409.

sus-

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sustaining violent struggles on the part of the other ecclesiastics and professors. In many places, all the colleges and schools being abandoned on their arrival, the worst consequences flowed from this temporary suspension of instruction. The inhabitants of Poitiers, writing to Sully in 1607, say, "We have already re- "presented to you the miserable condition of "this province, where there no longer exists "any method of forming the youth to letters "and virtue[m]." They proceed to state the anarchy and confusion in which Poitiers had been involved during two years, since the intrusion of those unwelcome strangers, the Jesuits. But, the perseverance and superior talents of the society, steadily exerted, at length overcame all opposition.

Romances.

The rage for romances may be considered as one of the predominant passions of the age under our review. To "Amadis," which had charmed the court of Francis the First, succeeded "Astræa," written by the Marquis d'Urfé; a production which obtained the highest vogue towards the end of Henry the Fourth's reign. The harsh features of chivalry began in "Astræa" to be softened down, and to give place to love adventures. Yet is there an infinite distance between "Astræa," and the novels of the last, or of the present century. In the composition of d'Urfé, we find no de-

[m] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 86, 87.

lineation

lineation of manners, no scenes of common life, as in the works of Crebillon, Marivaux, and Marmontel, among the French; or in the writings of Richardson and Fielding, among ourselves. D'Urfe's heroes and heroines are a sort of factitious beings, neither courtiers nor shepherds, but metaphysical, loquacious swains, tending their flocks on the banks of the little river Lignon in the province of the Bourbonnais, who converse upon love, like pastoral philosophers. The work or story opens with an amorous quarrel between Celadon and Astræa, after which, in despair he throws himself into the stream. Galatæa and her two female attendants find Celadon, floating on the water, and save his life. He recounts to Galatæa his father's adventures, and she falls in love with him. This part reminds the reader of Dido's passion for Eneas.

Decency is never intentionally violated in the composition, fable, or descriptions; but the appearance of Astræa in a state of nudity before her lover, has necessarily excited censure, as a departure from all decorum. (Part 1. book iv. page 195.) Probability is by no means consulted in many of the adventures. Celadon, disguised as a woman, embraces, undresses, and sleeps, if not in the same bed, yet in the same chamber with Astræa, for a length of time, without betraying himself, or exciting a suspicion of his sex. D'Urfé has not, indeed, confined himself within the limits of nature, common sense, or delicacy, in this part of the story.

But,

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But, delicacy, in our modern acceptation of that term, was unknown, even among the great, when d'Urfé wrote and lived. We must likewise observe that if he is indelicate, he is never libertine. Celadon's adoration of his mistress, represses in his mind, every thought of attacking her honor, or wounding her chastity. His passions are wholly subdued by his respect, humility, and sense of personal inferiority.

Love, and love only, forms the continual subject of "Astræa;" but the sentiment is refined, mental, and pure. The shepherdesses inspire only the most elevated passion, or rather idolatry. Nothing sensual is to be found in their conversation. Even in the deepest woods, in the night, or in situations the most favorable to loose desires, the shepherds are always respectful, and the shepherdesses invariably chaste. Never was any romance more strongly listed on the side of virtue. It must indeed be admitted that the passion of Celadon for Astræa, seems to approach in many of its features, to lunacy. Don Quixote, or Cardenio, are not more mad than he. A circumstance still more strange is, that the most obscure, or mysterious points of theology, as well as of love, are discussed by turns. Celadon and Adamas attempt to penetrate the recesses of polemical divinity, the unity of God, and even the nature of the Trinity. (Vol. ii. page 557—568.)

The point of time which d'Urfé has chosen for his heroes and heroines, is the fifth century, when Attila was over-running Gaul; when Merovee

Merovee was king of a portion of France; Thierry, King of the Visigoths; and Ætius, the lieutenant of the Roman Emperor Valentinian the Third, treating with Merovee, or contending with Attila. (Vol. i. page 137.) A considerable knowledge of the Roman history, during the calamitous period of the lower empire, which intervened from the death of Theodosius the Great in 393, down to the end of Valentinian's reign in 455, is displayed in the progress of the work. Druids, Vestals, and Nymphs, are introduced in every page. The Mythology is that of antiquity, mingled with the Runic and Celtic superstitions. Madrigals and sonnets are interspersed, but their composition is feeble.

The fourth volume of "Astræa" did not appear till two years after d'Urfé's death, in 1625, when it was given to the world by Baro, his secretary, accompanied by a dedicatory letter to the Queen-mother, Mary of Medicis. In this volume, the theatre is covered with new actors, who frequently put both Celadon and Astræa out of sight, for whole books. Baro, who was a native of Valentia in Spain, produced a fifth volume, which he declares, however, to have been compiled entirely from d'Urfé's papers. He has not spared either magic, enchantments, or supernatural agents, in order to produce the grand Catastrophe. Cupid appears at last in his own person, with his appropriate attributes. He even enjoins the ceremonials or rites which conclude the fable, by Celadon's

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Celadon's marriage with his mistress. Astræa weds her lover, just like Harriet Byron, or Sophia Western; and the curtain drops. Endless digressions, or rather accessory adventures, growing out of the original story, tho' scarcely connected in any manner with it, exhaust the reader's attention by these interminable narrations; but they contained a charm for contemporary readers, which is lost on posterity, as the amours and characters of the court of Henry the Fourth, are pourtrayed in "Astræa." The King himself is described under the name of "Le grand Euric." Honoré d'Urfé died in 1625, under the reign of Louis the Thirteenth. His work continued to form the delight of the French, and in some measure, the amusement of all Europe, for near half a century; till it was lost in the superior attractions of Mademoiselle Scuderi's "Clelie," and "Le grand Cyrus" during the regency of Anne of Austria, under the minority of Louis the Fourteenth. "Astræa" is now consigned to the same shelf, as Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia," a work nearly of the same period of time[n]. "Clorinda," another French romance, of which the subject is borrowed from Tasso, acquired great celebrity. Matthieu says, "that it was the first French book put into the "hand of Mary of Medicis after her arrival "from Tuscany."[o]

[n] Bayle. Dict. vol. iii. p. 866, 867. Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 144. Astræa, 5 volumes octavo, passim.

[o] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 534.

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Notwithstanding the severe restrictions imposed on the liberty of the press, and the necessity of obtaining the royal permission or approbation previous to the publication of any literary work, the most atrocious libels seem to have been continually printed and circulated in Paris. Neither the political errors of the administration, the personal vices of the King, nor the secret intrigues and gallantries of the court, were spared in these anonymous productions. In some cases, the authors, though well known, were left without molestation of any kind; while in others, they appear to have been prosecuted with the utmost severity. In 1605 appeared a satire, entitled, "Le Livre "des Hermaphrodites;" which unveiling the scenes of libertinism acted in the court, drew a very disadvantageous picture of the dissolution of manners then existing, when compared with the simplicity and purity of earlier times. Henry, after causing it to be read to him, and informing himself of the name of the author, forbad any search to be made after him. He admitted indeed, that the work was too bold and licentious; but added, that "he could not in "conscience punish a man for simply speaking "the truth[p]." The magnanimity of such a conduct extorts admiration. The great Frederic, King of Prussia, whose philosophick lenity under similar circumstances, has been justly admired, and loudly celebrated, never manifested

Libels.

Examples.

[p] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 75.

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fested more superiority of mind, than Henry displayed on this occasion.

It constituted a far more dangerous experiment, as it has commonly been found in all ages, to attack the ministers, than to wound the sovereign. Soon afterwards, a gentleman named Juvigni, of a very noble as well as antient family, ventured to write, and to circulate a manuscript pamphlet, the title of which was, "Discours d'Etat, pour faire voir au Roi, en quoi sa Majesté est mal servie." It was composed with a manly and generous freedom, unmixed with any expression indecent towards the King, or injurious to his service: but it bore hard upon Sully, the errors of whose administration it pretended to expose in the strongest colors.

Punishment of Juvigni.

For this imprudent act, Juvigni being prosecuted as guilty of high treason, was obliged to abscond, and hanged in effigy at Paris [q]. It was not less hazardous, as we may see in l'Etoile, to touch the Jesuits, who towards the end of the reign under our consideration, attained to an exorbitant degree of power. The bare suspicion of printing any thing to their disadvantage, formed a crime sufficient to involve the accused person in ruin [r]: while at the same moment, foreign members of that society did not fear to disseminate writings in the capital of France, defamatory of the house of Bourbon, of the parliaments, and of Henry

Power of the Jesuits.

[q] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 82.

[r] Ibid. p. 77, 78.

him-

himself. The most complete impunity attended them; nor was any notice taken of such notorious insults on the majesty of the throne[s]. It is impossible not to perceive, as Sully and d'Aubigné repeatedly assert, that the King, who exhibited so dauntless a spirit in the field, dreaded the enmity, and trembled at the vengeance, of the disciples of Loyola. Almanacs appear to have sometimes attracted the notice and animadversion of government, when they predicted sinister events. They seem to have become common about the beginning of the seventeenth century.[t]

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Almanacs.

The French language had by no means attained its standard of elegance and perfection, at the conclusion of Henry's reign. That prince, who was himself a Gascon, had rather contributed to introduce a vicious idiom or dialect, than conduced to its purity and refinement. The Duke d'Epernon, a native of the same remote province, mixed provincial barbarisms and imprecations with his ordinary conversation[u]. Even the court, like the sovereign, spoke a corrupt dialect; and Malherbe laboured "a degasconner la Cour[x]." He succeeded in giving correctness to poetry, though he neither attained to majesty nor sublimity. But, the French prose remained harsh, rugged and un-

State of the French language.

[s] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 76, 77. Mem. de d'Aubigné, p. 164.

[t] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 78, 79.

[u] Mem. de d'Aubigné, p. 178.

[x] Malherbe, Vie, p. 30.

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polished, till the middle of Louis the Thirteenth's reign. No writer of elegance and taste, had as yet appeared in that line of composition. Balzac is the first classical author; and he did not begin to be celebrated before 1626, towards the commencement of Richlieu's administration. Rigault, who continued the history of de Thou from 1607, where that great man stopped, down to 1610, wrote in Latin. He even seems to doubt whether any literary reputation could be acquired by writing in French, which language he treats as a barbarous jargon[y]. The letters of the Cardinals of Ossat and du Perron, as well as some of Pasquier's Epistles, appear to be the most correct productions which France had witnessed, before the termination of the period under our review.

[y] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 30.

CHAP. IV.

State of manners and society. — The Court. — Great officers of state. — Dress. — Tables. — Domestic arts. — Furniture. — Carriages. — Exercises and diversions. — Nature of the amusements. — Examples of them. — Theatrical exhibitions. — Their style and taste. — Rage for play. — Excesses of Henry in that article. — Corruption of the age. — Instances of it. — Libertinism of manners. — Homage paid to Gabrielle d'Etrées. — Conduct of Mary of Medicis. — Examples of the spirit of chivalry. — Passion for duels. — Edicts issued to restrain the practice. — Crimes. — Murders and assassinations. — Want of police in Paris. — State of the provinces in that respect. — Banditti. — Offences against morals. — Magic. — Instances of the belief in it. — Demoniacs. — Examples. — Belief in prodigies. — Pestilential distempers. — King's evil. — Canine madness.

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State of the court previous to Henry's marriage.

THE French court, considered as the regular establishment of a great monarch, can scarcely with propriety be said to have had any existence under Henry the Fourth, till after his marriage with Mary of Medicis, towards the close of the year 1600. During the period of the civil wars, such was the poverty of the crown, that the King, unable to sustain its dignity, was continually reduced to adopt the most distressing expedients, even for his personal support. Louis the Eighteenth, during his long wanderings thro' so many European states, pur-

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sued by the relentless terrors or hatred of Bonaparte; whether resident at Verona, at Blankenberg, at Warsaw, at Mittau, or at Hartwell, never experienced more severe privations, than were endured by the founder of the Bourbon line. The temporary residence which Henry's sister Catherine, Princess of Navarre, made in the metropolis, after its reduction in 1594; did not compensate for the long absence of a sovereign, who was perpetually occupied in repelling the foreign and domestic enemies of the state, thro'out all the various provinces of his dominions. Previous to his marriage, while successively attached to his two mistresses, the Duchess of Beaufort, and the Marchioness of Verneuil, he led the life of a libertine man of pleasure, rather than of a prince, maintaining scarcely any ostensible court. It was in the houses of Zamet, Gondi, la Varenne, and other subservient courtiers, that he relaxed from the fatigues of war or of state, in the society of a few chosen companions. But, when Mary of Medicis arrived at Paris, all the splendor of preceding times was revived in her person. The palace of the Louvre became the ordinary residence of that Princess; and we may doubt whether the drawing-room of her relation Catherine, the consort of Henry the Second, possessed more magnificence. As early as 1604, Mary's personal establishment was fixed at not less than fourteen thousand pounds Sterling annually; a sum which, if we allow for the vast diminution that has taken place, in the value of money,

Change, on Mary of Medicis's arrival.

money, may perhaps be considered as equal to the allowance of any succeeding Queen of France.[a]

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The necessary appendages of royalty, and the officers composing the household of Henry the Fourth, tho' regulated with systematic economy, thro'out every department; were, it would seem, neither less numerous, nor less ample, than those which surrounded the person of Francis the First. We may see in Sully, the sums appropriated to various branches of public utility, service, or amusement. The article of buildings consumed about twenty-five thousand pounds annually; public works amounted to above double the sum; and the list of pensions exceeded eighty thousand pounds a year[b]. Notwithstanding the magnitude and variety of these expences, the King allotted near a hundred thousand pounds for his personal pleasure; which article included mistresses, natural children, play, hounds, and falconry[c]. If we may form an idea of the salaries of the other great officers of state, from the appointments annexed to the offices held by Sully, they appear to have been calculated upon a similar scale. He informs us, that the aggregate amount of his various employments, which he enumerates, equalled at least four thousand pounds per annum, independant of about eighteen hundred pounds more, held by him in church preferments or

Officers of State.

Their salaries.

[a] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 289. [b] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 470, 471.
[c] Ibid, vol. i. tome ii. p. 358.

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benefices[d]. Yet, as if these emoluments were inadequate to his merits, Henry in 1601, unsolicited, conferred upon him a gratuitous annual donation of two thousand five hundred pounds, issuing out of the treasury[e]. However eminent were the services rendered by Sully to the state, and they can hardly be estimated too high, we must admit that they were munificently recompensed. No first minister of France or of England, during the whole course of the eighteenth century, received from the sovereign or the nation, similar marks of bounty. The second Mr. Pitt, whose financial merits as a minister, may by many persons be estimated as equal to those of Sully, was only remunerated after his decease, by the honors of a public funeral, accompanied with a posthumous mark of parliamentary gratitude. When we reflect on the resources of France, which, in little more than nine years of tranquillity, accompanied with a wise administration, could enable the crown to effect so many works of benefit or grandeur, to pay off its incumbrances, to maintain its splendor, to reward merit, and to lay up an immense treasure for times of war or exigency, we are covered with just astonishment.

Luxury of dress.

The luxury of dress appears to have been carried to as great a height under Henry the Fourth, as it attained during the reign of his predecessor. We may see in Bassompierre, the most entertaining details upon that article.

[d] Sully, p. 414, 415. [e] Ibid, p. 416.

He

He assures us that at the baptism of the royal children of France in 1606, when all the nobility and courtiers strove to outvie each other in expence; the dress which he made up for the occasion, cost him seven thousand Ecus, or near nine hundred pounds Sterling. The cloth of gold, which composed the materials of this superb suit, was embroidered, or rather totally covered with pearls; and the fashion of it alone came to three hundred French crowns, or about thirty-seven pounds of our money[f]. His account of the whole transaction is highly curious. "When I arrived," says he, "at "Paris, all the taylors and embroiderers were "so employed, that no money could procure "them. But my own taylor having informed "me, that a merchant of Antwerp had brought "a vast quantity of pearls, with which I might "make up a dress superior in beauty to every "other in the court, I sent for him. Not less "than fifty pounds weight of pearl were neces-"sary; and the merchant insisted on receiving "two thousand crowns as earnest. I had only "about three hundred and fifty in my purse: "nevertheless, I gave orders for it[g]." The birth-day suits of the present age, whatever taste may be displayed in them, shrink on a comparison in expence, with those worn more than two centuries ago. When Henry the Fourth entered the metropolis in 1594 by torchlight, on horseback, he wore, says l'Etoile, "a dress of

Splendor of dresses worn.

Those of Henry the Fourth,

[f] Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 126, 127.

[g] Idem. Ibid.

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" grey velvet, shot with gold, a grey hat, and " a white feather [h]." But at his nuptials, six years afterwards, we find him habited " in " white sattin, embroidered with gold and silk, " and a black cape [i]." The " Toque," or little Italian turban, an effeminate decoration introduced by Henry the Third, still continued to be worn, ornamented with jewels. [k]

and of d'Alincourt.

Great effeminacy characterized the men in general, on the article of dress, as we learn from Matthieu [l]. D'Alincourt, the French embassador at the court of Rome in 1608, on a day of ceremony, was clothed " in a silver " tissue; his shoes and stockings white; his " cloak black, with a border of embroidery, " lined with cloth of silver; and a bonnet of " black velvet." He was besides covered with precious stones and pearls [m]. All preceding magnificence became eclipsed by that of the Duke of Nevers, who was sent soon afterwards on an embassy from France to Pope Paul the Fifth; his dresses being not only splendid, but varied for the different public entries, or days of audience [n]. Sully, enumerating the principal articles which constituted elegance of dress in 1590, states them to be, " scarfs, fea- " thers, stuffs, silk-stockings, gloves, belts, and

[h] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 45.

[i] Chron. Sept. p. 191.

[k] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 189, 190; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 220, 221.

[l] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 194.

[m] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 174, 175.

[n] Ibid. p. 188—190.

" castor

Ordinary dress.

"castor hats[o]." If, after contemplating the splendor of upper life, we wish to see a portrait of ordinary "Costume" in 1596, we may find it in the same author. They wore "the "beard long and forked; a large hat, which "almost entirely concealed the face; a long "black cloak, buttoned at the collar; a sword, "and very wide boots[p]." Among men of quality and condition, the beard and hair were cut short[q]. That the same union of finery and dirt, of external show and concealed poverty, with which the French of the present age have been reproached, equally characterized them above two hundred years ago, is evident from an expression of a contemporary writer. "Do we not see," says he, "the youth of the present time, wear collars "and wristbands of thread-gauze starched, "although the body of the shirt be composed "of coarse rotten cloth, scarcely stitched to-"gether[r]?" Gallochios, a sort of large shoes, were common, particularly among the ex-students of the university of Paris; who residing in different quarters of the metropolis, and attending the public lectures, were necessitated to avail themselves of this means of wading through the mud, with which the streets were incommoded.[s]

[o] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 78.
[p] Ibid. p. 310.
[q] Hist. des Inaugurations, p. 446.
[r] Confess. de Sancy, p. 404.
[s] Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 199. Recherches de Pasquier, liv. viii ch. ii.

It

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Female ornaments.

It will not be doubted that the art of decorating the female person to the utmost advantage, had been assiduously cultivated, under a prince of the gallant and amorous complexion which distinguished Henry the Fourth. Ladies appear to have been so oppressed under the weight of their ornaments and precious stones, as to have almost lost the power of motion [t].

Gabrielle d'Etrées.

When Gabrielle d'Etrées entered Paris with her royal lover in 1594, "she was carried," says l'Etoile, "in a magnificent open litter: "she wore a robe of black sattin, variegated "with white; and she was covered with pearls "and jewels of such lustre, that they dimmed the "torches [u]." We may see in the same author, that Henry did not disdain to assist at her toilet, to adjust her head-dress, and to place the brilliants in her hair, with his own hands [x]. At the ceremony of a christening performed in the church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, where Gabrielle and the King were likewise present, she was so loaded with diamonds and pearls, as to be scarcely able to stand upright [y]. How unlimited was the expence of female dress, we may judge, when l'Etoile assures us that "he "saw a handkerchief, made by an embroiderer "of Paris for Gabrielle, to be worn on the en- "suing day, at a ball; the price of which she "had herself fixed at nine hundred and fifty "French crowns in ready money;" or about

[t] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 60, and p. 87.
[u] Ibid. p. 45. [x] Ibid. p. 153. [y] Ibid. p. 60.

one

one hundred and twelve pounds Sterling[z]. All these circumstances imply great licentiousness of manners.

Changes in female dress.

Mary of Medicis did not quit the Tuscan "Costume," nor assume the modes of France, till the day after her arrival in the capital of her new dominions[a]. Some material alterations in dress were introduced by that princess. The bosom continued to be exposed; and the ruff, which had been so long fashionable during the sixteenth century, was rivalled, tho' not supplanted by the "Medicis;" an ornament composed of lace, supported with wire, which rose behind the neck, to the height of near twelve inches[b]. It has been revived in our own time, and was highly susceptible of grace. Tissues, cloth of gold or silver, velvet, and ermine, constituted the materials for the dresses of women of distinction, on public occasions. They were sometimes sacrificed to motives of devotion. We can scarcely read nevertheless without smiling, that Margaret of Valois, in 1610, "made a present of the train of her gown, to the church "of St. Sulpice at Paris, to form a canopy for "covering the holy sacrament on great occasions[c]." The donation was accepted by the ecclesiastics with testimonies of gratitude. She had recently worn this robe at the coronation

Materials of them.

[z] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 61.
[a] Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 55.
[b] Hist. des Inaugurations, p. 446.
[c] Vie de Marg. p. 403.

of

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of Mary of Medicis. In the painting executed by Rubens, commemorating that ceremony, Margaret appears in the dress.

Tables.

The luxury displayed at the tables of the great, during the period which we are reviewing, excites astonishment. The preparations made for the banquet given by the Constable Henry de Montmorency, on the baptism of his son in 1597, at which ceremony the King and his mistress Gabrielle were present, occupied all the cooks in Paris, during eight successive days. Fish was brought, at an immense expence, from the sea, to the capital. Two sturgeons only, cost fifty crowns, or above six pounds Sterling. The desert was not less superb, the fruit served up, exceeding forty pounds Sterling in price; and as the entertainment happened to take place in the month of March, every pear was purchased at half-a-crown [d]. The Marquis d'O, Superintendant of the finances, seems to have been one of the greatest epicures of the time. L'Etoile says that "he surpassed all the sovereign princes of "Europe, in prodigality and excess; the tarts "which were served at his suppers, costing "above twelve French crowns, or thirty shil-"lings a-piece [e]." He does not however convey to us a very advantageous idea of the French style of cookery at that period, when he adds that these tarts were "seasoned with

Banquets.

Cookery.

[d] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 153, 154.
[e] Ibid. p. 57.

"musk

"musk and amber[f]." As early as 1596, two years before the termination of the war with Spain, so universal had the progress of luxury become among the middle order of opulent citizens in Paris, that at the entertainments given during the Carnival, dishes were brought on table, each of which had cost two-and-twenty crowns, or about fifty-five shillings of our money. Three courses were commonly served; such a superfluity of dried sweet-meats and rusks being likewise provided, that the ladies gave them away to the pages and lacqueys in attendance[g]. One of the most superb festivals commemorated, was the banquet presented by the Papal vice-legate at Avignon, to Mary of Medicis, in 1600, soon after her arrival in France. After the conclusion of the ball, the tapestry at one end of the apartment falling on a signal given, discovered a magnificent collation served on three tables. Besides many figures of birds, beasts, and fishes, composed of sugar, there were beheld fifty statues formed of the same materials, each two palms high, representing gods, goddesses, and emperors. When the collation ended, three hundred baskets full of confectionary, particularly fruits exquisitely imitated in sugar, were distributed to the ladies.[h]

Progress of luxury.

Festival at Avignon.

It would constitute a more pleasing research, to ascertain with some precision, the progress of

Domestic arts.

[f] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 57.

[g] Ibid. p. 118.

[h] Chron. Sept. p. 187. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 267, 268.

the

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the domestic arts; which might enable us to follow the silent, insensible advances of ease, comfort, and elegance, in the dwellings of private life. But, these softer features of history are rarely traced by contemporary writers, from their universal notoriety; and their fugitive, as well as perishable nature, renders it almost impossible to recover them after the lapse of time. The most accurate investigation of the authors who wrote under Henry the Fourth, will only throw very imperfect light upon the subject. The majesty of de Thou's and Davila's productions, did not permit them often to descend to these humble, but interesting details; and we are more indebted for them to the faithful accuracy of l'Etoile, than to those great historians. We may however assert with truth, that not only the houses of the opulent, but the castles of the nobility, and the palaces of kings, were very partially and imperfectly furnished. Henry, in 1601, writing to Sully from Fontainbleau, at a time when he expected the embassadors of Venice; says, "Send for d'Herbannes, my upholsterer, and order him to be here to-morrow betimes, with five suits of tapestry, and three or four beds: if more are wanted, they will be found here. Direct likewise to be brought, plate for the kitchen, with five or six basons, and as many ewers, and ten or twelve silver candlesticks[i]." It is evident from these expressions, that only the necessary

Difficulty of tracing them.

Furniture.

Want of that article

[i] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 38.

furni-

furniture for the use of the royal household, was to be found in the palace, no provision being made for the reception or accommodation of strangers. Similar orders had been issued two years earlier, when the Duke of Savoy visited the French court [k]. If we would see how miserable and comfortless were the apartments, even in the celebrated castle of Anet near Dreux, one of the finest palaces of France, constructed by Diana de Poitiers, Duchess of Valentinois, mistress of Henry the Second; we have only to peruse the description of the night which Sully passed there in 1594. Though the Duchess of Aumale, in the absence of the Duke, to whom Anet then belonged, endeavoured to entertain him in the best manner possible; yet such was the deficiency in every article of necessary accommodation, that he could not have suffered more inconvenience in the meanest cottage [l]. We may infer from a passage in the "Satyre "Menippée" that arm-chairs were become in some degree common under Henry the Fourth, among the opulent or the indolent [m]. Beds, besides the ordinary curtains, had often a "tour "de lit," or second curtain, composed of thick cloth, which excluding all air, was of course extremely injurious to health. [n]

among the nobility.

Litters continued still to constitute the most commodious and usual conveyance for women of condition, as well as for aged and infirm per-

Litters.

[k] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 441.
[l] Ibid. tome i. p. 130.
[m] Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 59.
[n] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 285.

sons.

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sons. We find Gabrielle d'Etrées constantly preferring that mode of travelling [o]. The Prince of Condé, when he carried off his consort in 1609, and withdrew into the Netherlands, mounted on horseback, placing the Princess behind him [p]. Mary of Medicis was accustomed to be carried in a Sedan chair, as we learn from Bassompierre, particularly during the periods of her pregnancy [q]. The art of suspending coaches in such a manner as to render their motion easy, was unknown: in the relation left us by the Abbé de Pont Levoy, of his father the Chancellor Chiverny's death, which was produced by a rupture, he expressly attributes it to the violent jolts of the coach. "Instead," says he, "of sparing his "old age by a good litter, as every one ad- "vised him, he had some time before caused "to be made a large handsome coach, after "the mode of the time, lined with crimson "velvet, magnificently gilt [r]." If we wish to form an accurate idea of the decorations of carriages in that age, we may do it by perusing the account which Cayet gives of the coach presented by the King to Mary of Medicis, on her first arrival in 1600. "It was "covered with brown velvet, and silver tinsel "on the outside; within, it was lined with a

Coaches, how inconvenient. Decorations of them.

[o] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 311. Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 207.
[p] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 203.
[q] Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 108.
[r] Memoirs de Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 104, 105.

"carnation velvet, embroidered with gold and "silver. The curtains were of carnation da- "mask; and it was drawn by four grey horses[s]." Notwithstanding however the external splendor of their appearance, they wanted every essential convenience. Glasses did not come into use before the succeeding reign. In 1594, when Catherine, Princess of Navarre, made her first entry into Paris, she had eight carriages in her train[t]. That luxury had made a far greater and more general progress, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, on the other side of the Alps, than in France, is evident; since we find, at the public reception of Henry's embassador, the Duke of Nevers in Rome, there were not fewer than eighteen hundred coaches and carriages in the streets[u]. We learn from Bassompierre, that about the year 1607, English horses were first brought over to Paris. Their superior swiftness and beauty soon rendering them fashionable, they were eagerly sought after, as well for hunting, as for the road.[x]

Exercises and diversions

The exercises in vogue under Henry the Fourth, though still active, martial, and sometimes hazardous, were less fierce than those of the preceding age; the diversions beginning insensibly to assume a softer character. We find the King, habited in white sattin, running at the

[s] Chron. Sept. p. 184.
[t] Journ. d'Hen. IV. vol. i. tome ii. p. 22.
[u] Ibid. tome i. vol. ii. p. 189.
[x] Bassomp. vol. i. tome. i. p. 134.

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ring, and carrying away the prize, after he had attained his fiftieth year [y]. During the Carnival, the young nobility armed themselves, put on masks, and mounted on horseback, having large cushions stuffed, and covered with taffaty, at the pommels of their saddles. Thus accoutred, they assembled in chosen troops or bands, paraded through the streets of the metropolis, and attacked each other very roughly, or affronted all such as they chanced to meet in their way. It appears from Bassompierre's description, that very severe blows and contusions might be given and received in these encounters, by the cushions, which were usually filled with hard materials. [z]

of the young nobility.

Combat at the barrier.

Only one combat at the barrier was exhibited during the reign under our survey, and it formed the last of that description witnessed among the French. Bassompierre, who has left us a minute as well as entertaining account of it, was himself a combatant; and he received so dangerous a wound in the belly, from the lance of his antagonist the Duke of Guise, that Henry not only suspended the entertainment, but never would permit its repetition [a]. Louis the Thirteenth not attempting to revive them, they finally expired. It will be amusing to contemplate the principal features of this combat, as drawn by Bassompierre: they serve strongly to depicture the manners of the

[y] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 223.
[z] Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 104—106.
[a] Bassomp. p. 106, and p. 108.

age

age in 1605. The scene was the court of the Louvre, which the King caused to be covered with sand on the occasion. He assisted at it in person, with all the court, male and female; the lists being placed immediately under the windows of the Queen's apartments. Three champions on either side, selected from among the most accomplished Cavaliers of the time, appeared ready to encounter, each prepared to break three lances. "As we had armour and "liveries," adds Bassompierre, "ready for "every occasion, I and my two seconds wore "silver mail: our plumes were carnation and "white, as were our silk stockings. The Duke "of Guise and his troop, on account of the "imprisonment of the Marchioness of Ver-"neuil, whose concealed lover he was, put on "a dress and armour of black and gold. In "this equipage we arrived at the Louvre [b]." Guise's lance having entered his adversary's body at the first career, put an end to the diversion. His recovery was long doubtful, and seems, by his account, to have been almost miraculous.

Description of it.

Naval combats were represented on various occasions, as far as we are able to judge, with extraordinary dexterity. In 1604 the magistrates of the city of Rochelle gave a splendid entertainment to Sully, the nature and particulars of which, can be no way so well related as in his own language. Writing to the King

Naval combats. That of Rochelle exhibited to Sully.

[b] Bassomp. p. 106, 107.

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on the subject, he says, "At this banquet "there were seventeen tables, of which the "least contained sixteen covers. On the following day, they presented us a very handsome collation of dried sweetmeats; and on "the one ensuing, a naval combat of twenty "vessels, with dresses, arms, streamers, and "liveries of France, against twenty others of "Spain, where nothing was omitted of all that "is practised in real war. It was terminated "by the victory of the French over the Spaniards, who were all conducted captives and "bound, to the foot of your majesty's portrait." [c] Neither Brest nor Toulon could probably have exhibited such a display of maritime strength and skill.

Genius of the pastimes

It is not often that de Thou descends so much from the gravity of his style and manner, as to commemorate the pastimes of the French court; but he has violated his accustomed brevity on that point, in the description which he has left us, of the Carousal performed in 1606, before the King and Queen at Paris. There appears no little display of fancy as well as taste, in the fabrication of its parts and characters. Four troops of gentlemen, personifying the four primary elements, proceeded by torch-light to the Louvre. The first company, designed to represent the "water," was composed of Syrens and deities of the sea, led by Bellegarde, followed by twelve splendidly dress-

[c] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 254.

ed

ed cavaliers. In the second troop, were seen Vulcan and the Cyclops, employed in forging armour. They were conducted by the Prince of Leon, and represented "fire." The Count of Sommerive, in the character and with the attributes of "air," was accompanied by Juno with eagles and other birds. Lastly came the Duke of Nevers, as the "earth," attended by elephants, on whose backs were constructed towers, in which musicians were stationed: twelve Moors closed the march. In this order they entered the great court of the Louvre, where all the windows were crouded with spectators. Having divided into squadrons, and discharged their lances in the ground, they began a mock combat with arrows and darts, which were dextrously received on their bucklers. The spectacle finally concluded by an engagement between the cavalry, which seems to have been designed as an imitation of the Pyrrhic dance, so famous in antiquity [d]. Verse, as well as music, lent its aid on the occasion; and Malherbe, the first poet of the age, did not disdain to compose "Stanzas to the ladies, for "the demi-gods conducted by Neptune." [e]

CHAP. IV. 1589—1610. of the court.

These pageants and allegorical representations, founded on the Grecian mythology, which are now properly abandoned to the theatre, were then performed by princes, noblemen, and ladies of the highest condition. No ideas of

Noblemen and ministers performed in

[d] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 546. Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 115.
[e] Malherbe, p. 81—83.

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the decorum or gravity annexed to character, office, or situation, imposed any obstacle. It is entertaining and ridiculous to consider this principle in its effects; nor can we avoid smiling, when we behold Sully, tho' Superintendant of the finances, and Biron, a Marshal of France, commanding the armies of the crown, both dancing in one "Ballet." The same inattention to ministerial or official situation, characterized the court diversions among us under Elizabeth, in which we find Sir Christopher Hatton, while holding the great seal, dancing with the Queen. Gray, describing these pastimes, says,

"My grave lord keeper led the brawls,
"The seals and maces danced before him."

Sully, and Biron.

Sully informs us, that in 1597, at a moment when he was occupied in finding pecuniary resources wherewith to continue the war, and to sustain the shock of the Spanish arms in Picardy; he made one of fourteen persons in a "Ballet," which Biron undertook and executed in honor of a married lady to whom he was attached. In justice to Sully, however, it ought to be added, that he wished to decline this exhibition of his talents for dancing; and he says that he only consented at Biron's urgent entreaty, supported by the King's commands. He had scarcely finished the "Ballet," and retired to rest at a very late hour, when he was awoke, and summoned to attend

a council, convoked on the arrival of the disastrous news of the surprize of Amiens by Portocarrero. [f] CHAP. IV. 1589—1610.

In 1602, we find Mary of Medicis performing the first part in a magnificent diversion, presented by her to the King, divided into three acts. Having associated to herself fifteen of the most beautiful or accomplished princesses and ladies of the court, for the purpose, the entertainment opened with Apollo and the nine Muses, who sung, danced, and played on instruments of music, every cadence ending with these words, addressed to Henry; The Queen. Entertainment given by Mary of Medicis.

" Ill faut que tout vous fasse homage,
" Grand roi, miracle de notre age."

Quinault and Racine, in the succeeding age, were more refined in their adulation of Louis the Fourteenth. Eight maids of honor performed the second act, or dance. In the third, appeared the Queen herself and her band, divided into four troops, covered with jewels of inestimable value; the young Duke of Vendome, natural son to the King by Gabrielle, preceding Mary, in the character of Cupid. This " Ballet," it seems, made three stations or exhibitions: the first, at the Louvre; the second, at the Duke of Guise's Hotel; and lastly, in the great hall of the archiepiscopal palace. The papal Nuntio, together with all the foreign mi-

[f] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 349.

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nisters, were present at its performance[g]. But it is in Bassompierre, that we find every detail of these gallant amusements, in which he appeared as a distinguished performer. From him we learn that satire sometimes mingled in their composition, not always sparing even the King. In 1598 he tells us, that he was one of twelve men of quality, who danced a "Ballet" at the palace of Monceaux, expressly to amuse the royal leisure. They personated barbers, in order to ridicule Henry, who, on account of a dangerous complaint of a very delicate nature, which menaced his life, had recently been under the hands of surgeons[h]. No offence whatever was taken by him at such a liberty.

Satirical dances.

"Branles."

The species of dance denominated "Branles," which by a slight corruption of orthography as well as pronunciation, became the celebrated "Brawls" of Queen Elizabeth's court, attained to the highest vogue, and were beheld with a sort of enthusiasm, under Henry the Fourth[i]. The Duke of Montpensier in 1608, tho' lying at the point of death, and only a very few days before he actually expired; quitted his bed, in order to become a spectator of one of these dances, which was performed in his own palace, by some of the young nobility[k]. The King received the first impression of that

Their vogue.

[g] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 189, 190. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 61.
[h] Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 37, and p. 47, and p. 135.
[i] Ibid. p. 38.
[k] Ibid. p. 131.

attach-

attachment for Henrietta de Montmorency, afterwards Princess of Condé, which engaged him in so many actions disgraceful to his character, as well as unbecoming his age; by seeing her in the dress and character of Diana, in a "Ballet" represented at court. She was then unmarried, and in the first flower of youth[l]. How superior the French were esteemed in the profession of dancing, as well as of fencing, we may infer from Sully's bringing over with him to London in 1603, when he arrived as the embassador of France, masters in both those branches of accomplishment. They were presented by him to Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of James the First.[m]

Theatrical amusements,

The theatrical amusements during this period, appear to have been equally destitute of refinement, and devoid of genius. Personalities and coarse allusions, or satirical reflexions on persons of eminence, were allowed and encouraged, as they had been by the Athenians in the time of Aristophanes. The Duke of Mayenne, during the first months of his delegated or assumed authority, as "Lieutenant-General of the Crown;" having been informed that the comedians of the metropolis had installed him on a royal throne, with mock ceremonies calculated to expose him to ridicule, suspended and interdicted their performances[n]. Henry manifested far more placability, even when

how unrefined.

[l] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 193.
[m] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 169.
[n] Satyre Men. vol. ii. p. 386.

per-

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personally attacked on the theatre. L'Etoile has left us a very amusing relation of a farce, or comic entertainment, performed in 1607, before the King, Queen, and court, at the "Hotel de Bourgogne" in Paris. We may gather from it a perfect idea of the state of the drama, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, among the French. The fable of the piece, if indeed that term can with propriety be applied to a rude and simple delineation of diurnal transactions in vulgar life, was void of any pretension to fancy, taste, or composition.

Farce performed before the court.

Description of the piece.

The scene, at its rising, discovered a mechanic and his wife engaged in altercation; the woman complaining that her husband passed the whole day at the tavern intoxicating himself, while the tax-gatherers, in the king's name, seized on all their little property or acquisitions of every kind. To this reproach the man replied, not without a degree of humour, that the oppression of the taxes formed an additional motive with him to drink. "For, "what the devil," added he, "will all the "money avail us which we can save, since the "king alone will be benefited by it? I am de- "termined, instead of drinking less, to increase "my quantity; and where I swallowed three- "halfpenny worth of liquor, to double my dose. "I shall at least secure that from this rapa- "cious king. Begone therefore, and bring me "something to quench my thirst." These arguments, however witty or just in themselves, not carrying conviction to the woman, she renews her

her exclamations; which are suddenly interrupted by the entrance of a Counsellor of the court of Aids, a commissary, and a serjeant, who demand payment of the taxes, on pain of seizure of their effects. CHAP. IV. 1589—1610.

The torrent of her abuse, which is now turned into a new channel, becomes then directed against the unwelcome intruders; of whom the husband roughly enquires their business and functions. "We are," reply they, "officers of justice." 'Impossible!' says he; 'officers 'of justice do precisely the reverse of every 'thing practised by you. I don't believe you. 'Produce your commission.' The Counsellor shews the order in virtue of which he acts; while the woman, affecting to be apprehensive that on account of their inability to pay the tax, their furniture and goods would be seized, slily seats herself on a chest. The commissaries order her to rise in the king's name. She refuses; but they compel her, and the chest is at length opened. In an instant out rush three devils, who lay violent hands on the unfortunate collectors of the taxes; and each devil selecting his man, throw them over their backs, and carry them off in triumph. This catastrophe seemed to form the natural conclusion of the piece, which could not be accused of any deficiency in poetical justice.[o]

Tho' the dramatic exhibition closed in the manner related, it was followed by another scene Consequences of it.

[o] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 140—142.

of

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of a more serious nature. The counsellors, commissaries, and serjeants, irritated at being thus exposed to derision on a public theatre, made such complaints, and took such effectual measures, that the actors were all committed to prison. By the King's express interference and command, they were nevertheless set at liberty on the same day. He had sufficient magnanimity to despise such attacks, and to tell the persons who conceived themselves aggrieved, that "if any affront had been given, he had received a far greater insult than they; but that "he readily forgave it, in consideration of the "amusement which he had derived from so "laughable a performance." That it was one of the best exhibitions of its kind represented at Paris, is certain; since l'Etoile adds, "Every one "allowed, that for a long time past, there had "not been seen at Paris a more pleasant farce, "better played, or of a livelier invention[p]." We must own that there is a wide interval between it, and the productions of Moliere: yet the first comedy of that incomparable writer, "L'Etourdi," was performed at Lyons, only forty-six years afterwards[q]. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that while in the capital of France, the Drama remained at so low an ebb; in London, Shakespear had produced some of the most beautiful, though eccentric and irregular comedies, which have ever excited the admiration of

Interference of Henry.

Low state of the drama.

[p] Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 142.
[q] Biogr. Dict vol. ix. p. 258.

man-

mankind. Falstaff, whose humour is original and inimitable, had amused the court of Elizabeth, who died in 1603, "Much ado about Nothing," as well as "Twelfth Night," and "As you like it;" three comic productions of the highest merit; all belong to the early portion of James the First's reign. CHAP. IV. 1589—1610.

A company of Italian performers seem to have annually visited, if they did not remain stationary in the French metropolis, after Mary of Medicis' arrival. In 1603, we find the company of Isabella Andrëini reciting before the court[r]. They were received with applauses; but we do not exactly know the particular style and nature of their performance. Henry, in 1608, writes to the eldest son of the Duke of Sully, enjoining him to pay the Italian comedians a sum of money on account, and to order them to repair to him at Fontainbleau[s]. Buffoons, male and female, as well as pages and dwarfs, constituted part of the royal establishment, having fixed pensions or salaries annexed to their offices[t]. Mathurine, a woman who followed the court in the capacity of a fool or buffoon, seems not only to have enjoyed the privilege of taking personal freedoms with the King, but to have possessed no inconsiderable degree of favour and interest[u]. The Italian comedians. Buffoons.

[r] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. vi. p. 446.
[s] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 247.
[t] Confession de Sancy, p. 316—318. Chiverny, vol. i. p. 343. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol i. tome ii. p. 65.
[u] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 141, 142.

order

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order of the nobles, in the assembly of the "Notables" held at Rouen, demanded in their collective capacity, that the sovereign would maintain in his household the greatest number of pages that he was able; and that he would give them an education becoming gentlemen, as well as capable of forming them to the exercise of arms. [x]

Pages.

Rage for play.

Never did the rage for play, one of the most destructive to morals of any which can be tolerated in society, prevail more universally, nor attain to a greater pitch of enormity, than under this reign. It received every possible encouragement from the King's example, and it forms one of the greatest defects in his character. The contagion, which was not limited to the court, pervaded private life, fatally corrupting the manners of the inferior orders. It would be difficult to credit the amount of the sums hazarded at play, if they only stood upon the testimony of Bassompierre, d'Aubigné, or l'Etoile. Unhappily, Henry's own letters, preserved in Sully, afford incontestable proofs of the fact. In the autumn of 1608, "the "King," says Bassompierre, "knowing that "I was at Paris, wrote to me, commanding me "to return to court; informing me that I had "hitherto been the deepest gamester of the "set, but that there was a Portuguese, named "Pimentel, recently arrived, who greatly sur-"passed me. I staid some days at Fontain-

[x] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 21.

"bleau,

"bleau, playing the most furious play ever "known. Not a day passed, in which twenty "thousand Pistoles were not lost and won. "The smallest stakes were fifty Pistoles, and "the largest were five hundred; so that it "was possible to hold in one's hand at the "same time, above fifty thousand Pistoles. I "won in that year, above five hundred thou- "sand Livres at play. The King returned "to Paris, and from thence to St. Germain, "continuing the same train of play, at which "Pimentel won above a hundred thousand "crowns [y]." If we consider how little a Pistole is inferior in pecuniary value to a pound Sterling; and if we recollect that Bassompierre's winnings in one year only, exceeded twenty thousand Guineas; we shall be lost in contemplating the effects of such outrageous gaming. The conduct of Henry the Third, however profligate and depraved in other particulars, appears in the article of play, to have been much less censurable than that of his successor. Louis the Fourteenth and Louis the Fifteenth, tho' both were during a part of their lives, very dissolute princes, yet never exhibited so pernicious an example to their courtiers and subjects, as was given by Henry the Fourth, in almost every species of debauch. The Regent-Duke of Orleans equalled and even exceeded him.

Enormous sums lost and won at court.

Its pernicious effects.

As if to corroborate the account given by Bassompierre, we find Henry writing to Sully,

Further proofs of it,

[y] Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 134.

on

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on the 18th of January, 1609, in these words; "My friend, I have lost at play twenty-two "thousand Pistoles, which I desire of you to "put into Feideau's hands, who will deliver "you this note, that he may distribute the "money among the different persons to whom "I am indebted [z]." It forms by no means the only order of the kind, which is to be found in Sully's works [a]. He promised, it is true, with solemn protestations to his minister, that he would not again play so deep; but it is evident that he did not keep his word. Sully so well knew his master's weakness, that in the month of March of the same year, the King coming to dine with him at the arsenal, he ordered cards and dice to be placed upon table, as soon as the dishes were removed. At the same time he caused a purse, containing four thousand Pistoles, to be put by Henry for his own use; and a second bag which held an equal sum, for the purpose of lending to such persons as played with him [b]. It must be admitted that the style of play seems to have been in this respect at least, becoming a great sovereign. But we may see in numerous instances, that the King, in the true spirit of a gamester, loved the amusement for its contingent advantages, and by no means refunded his winnings [c].

from Sully.

[z] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 276. [a] Ibid. p. 326.

[b] Ibid. p. 282.

[c] Ibid. p. 290. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 153; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 146.

Many

Many of the courtiers, seduced by so bad an example, ruined their fortunes at the gaming table. The younger Biron was among the number[d]. Primero seems to have been the fashionable game.[e]

Progress of gaming among the inferior orders.

How general and how destructive the passion for play became before the close of this reign, we may learn from l'Etoile. The facts related by him, appear equally extraordinary with those contained in Bassompierre. "In this month "of March, 1609," says he, "have been esta- "blished in Paris, many new academies for "play, where the citizens of every age, stake "considerable sums; which demonstrates at "once the general abundance, and the corrup- "tion of manners. The son of a merchant has "been seen to lose at one sitting, thirty thou- "sand crowns, who never inherited from his "father more than ten thousand. A person, "named Jonas, has hired a house for holding "one of these academies, in the suburb of "St. Germain, during fifteen days that the fair "lasts: he has given fourteen hundred Livres "for it[f]." These circumstances, which must have been of universal notoriety, and which are commemorated by a contemporary writer of unquestionable accuracy, convey an incredible picture of the rage for so ruinous an amusement. We may reasonably doubt, whether

Dissolution of manners and profligacy.

[d] Cabinet d'Hen. IV., vol. i. p. 54.
[e] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 467.
[f] About sixty pounds sterling. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 193, 194.

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ther at any period of the reigns of Louis the Fifteenth, or of his unfortunate successor, the "Palais royal," where every enormity and abomination found a secure asylum in the centre of Paris, ever witnessed greater, or even equal excesses in the article of play. It seems to prove the total inattention of the municipal and civil government, to the morals of the people, under Henry the Fourth; since it is evident that no measures were taken for the suppression of such seminaries of vice, or for the punishment of those individuals who presumed to open them in the metropolis.

Corruption, how general.

Venality constituted another of the distinguishing features of the age, which was by no means confined to the courts of law, but pervaded all the departments of civil government. Bribes were offered under the form of presents, without disguise, and accepted without shame, even by ministers and persons of the highest quality.

Duke of Savoy.

In 1606, when Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, arrived at Paris, he commenced his political operations and intrigues, by a regular system of corruption. In order to retain the Marquisate of Saluzzo, of which territory he had possessed himself under the reign of Henry the Third, he found no means so effectual as money. The commissioners, named by the crown to discuss and report upon that important object, though the Constable Montmorency and the Chancellor Belliévre were among the number, did not blush to sell themselves to a foreign prince, who had usurped a part of

the dominions of France[g]. Sully alone rejected his offers, and declined his magnificent presents[h]. Such was the effect produced by Charles Emanuel's largesses, that they seduced the allegiance of Biron, procured the Duke a perfect knowledge of the most secret deliberations of the French cabinet, and spread in ramifications so extensive thro'out the kingdom, as to menace the very existence or tranquillity of the monarchy.[i]

Foreign courts.

The same arts which operated with so much success in Henry's court, he practised in turn, without scruple, when he wanted to become master of the secrets of other princes, and to direct or influence their counsels. After the decease of Elizabeth, Queen of England, in 1603, we find the two ministries of France and Spain vying with each other in their efforts to corrupt, and to purchase the counsellors of James the First[k]. In the instructions signed by Henry the Fourth himself, delivered to Sully, whom he sent embassador to London; there is a specific injunction, "to tamper with, "and to bind to the service of his majesty, "any of the confidential servants of the King "of England, who may be capable of serving "him, and on whose adherence there may "appear to be room to confide[l]." The very

England.

Instructions to Sully.

[g] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 467, and p. 469.
[h] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 433—435.
[i] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 478. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 437—439.
[k] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 165.
[l] Ibid. p. 102.

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nature of the expressions used, implies the objects intended to be effected by the embassador. Sully was not negligent in fulfilling the commission; and he acted with so much dexterity, that James consented in some measure, to the corruption of his own ministers[m]. The females of distinction about the person of Anne of Denmark, the new Queen of England, were not forgotten in the pecuniary distributions[n]; and we see the Earl of Northumberland named among the first who negotiated for a pension, which was promised him by Sully[o]. It may be amusing to enumerate some of the presents made to the principal personages, male and female, as they throw a light on the manners of the times; on the mode of conferring or conveying donations; and on the respective importance of the individuals themselves. The whole list is to be found in Sully. Secretary Cecil has three dozen of gold buttons, set with diamonds. Lord Sidney, a chain of large gold beads, filled with perfume, enriched with diamonds; and the portrait of Henry the Fourth. The Duke of Lenox, a band for a hat, with diamond tassels. Among the names which occur, are the English Earls of Southampton and Devonshire, as well as the Scottish Earls of Roxburgh and Mar. To the Countess of Bedford, is presented a gold watch, ornamented with jewels. Even Margaret Aisan, who is entitled

to corrupt the English ministers and ladies.

Lists of presents and pensions

distributed by Sully.

[m] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 169, and p. 170.
[n] Ibid. p. 171. [o] Ibid. p. 124, and p. 157, and p. 171.

titled "Fille de Chambre, and favorite of the Queen," occupies a place among the subordinate personages. [p]

Court of Lorrain.

Six years afterwards, in 1609, when Henry dispatched Bassompierre to the court of Nancy, in order to negociate an affair of the most delicate nature, namely, the marriage of his son the Dauphin, afterwards Louis the Thirteenth, with the eldest daughter of the Duke of Lorrain; the French minister was authorized to begin by corrupting and retaining all the persons, who might be judged capable of facilitating the alliance. He was however limited at first, to six thousand crowns in annual pensions [q]. Bassompierre assures us, that on his offering Bonnet, President of Lorrain, and confidential minister of the Duke, to interest him by a pecuniary recompence, in favor of the French King, Bonnet refused it; adding, that "he "belonged to a master who was capable of "amply paying his services [r]." Some instances of similar elevation of mind and integrity are to be found, tho' rarely, among the French nobility, during the period under our contemplation. [s]

Integrity of Bonnet.

Libertinism

The utmost libertinism of manners, and even contempt of decorum, characterized the con-

[p] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 169.
[q] Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 152.
[r] Ibid. p. 156.
[s] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 373. D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 535. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 351; and vol. xii. p. 309, and p. 446. Memoires D'Aub. p. 142—144.

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duct of the great. Henry, who led the way in this respect, influenced essentially by his pernicious example, on the court, the nobility, and even the people. During the siege of Paris in 1590, all the surrounding nunneries became the scene and receptacle of debauch. That of Maubuisson, where the royal standard was displayed, exhibited an example of the most unrestrained licentiousness. Angelica d'Etrées, eldest sister of the celebrated Gabrielle, was abbess of the convent[t]. The clergy, in 1596, complained that all discipline and order were become extinct in the female monasteries thro'-out France[u]. We can scarcely conceive greater violations of decency, than many which are commemorated by l'Etoile; and they are so repugnant to our modes of acting, that they impress with no less disgust, than they excite amazement. We find the King, far from drawing a veil over his amours, or trying to conceal them from public inspection; studiously exhibiting them to every observer, and deriving a sort of vanity from their publicity. Not only in his retirement, and in the apartments of his palace, he is always accompanied by his mistresses; but in every diversion, in acts of state, in public ceremonies, in the camp, and even in the solemnities of religion, Gabrielle appears constantly at his side. When Madame de Sourdis' son was baptized in 1594, the King

in the nunneries,

and court.

Examples of it.

[t] Confess. de Sancy, p. 236, 237, and p. 250—254.

[u] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 20, 21.

officiated

officiated as sponsor to the infant, in the church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois at Paris. "From "the instant that he entered," says l'Etoile, "till his departure, he never ceased laughing "with his mistress, and caressing her in differ- "ent ways[x]." The subsequent part of their discourse and deportment, was still less compatible with the respect due to the place, and to the act in which they were engaged. These facts appear the more singular, when we reflect how recently Henry had become a convert to the Catholic faith. On the 17th of March in the following year, being overtaken by a violent storm, like Dido and Eneas, while they were hunting together in the neighbourhood of Paris, they returned to the royal palace. As they passed through the streets, Gabrielle was on horseback, sitting astride, dressed in green; while Henry rode by her side, holding her hand.[y]

Henry and his mistress.

When the Duke of Mayenne repaired to Monceaux in 1596, in order to make his submission to a sovereign against whom he had been so long in rebellion, he was received by Gabrielle; who performing the honors of the mansion, conducted him to the royal presence. At supper, Henry and his mistress eat at one table; while the Duke, with Diana d'Etrées, her sister, were seated at another adjoining; and the courtiers, facetiously called Mayenne,

[x] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 60, 61.
[y] Ibid. p. 90, 91.

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Indecorums committed by them.

the King's brother-in-law [z]. So little restraint did they impose on the marks of their mutual fondness, that in time of Carnival, Gabrielle, when accompanying him to the houses of individuals whom he visited, was accustomed to take off his mask, and to kiss him wherever they entered [a]. Even in council, they repeated the same indecent caresses, which seem not to have excited in the ministers present, any violent emotions of concern or of disgust [b]. De Thou, who confirms many of these facts, censures the King for celebrating the baptism of his son by Gabrielle, Cæsar, Duke of Vendome, with the same public demonstrations of pomp and magnificence, which might have become the birth of a legitimate prince of France. The ceremony was performed by the papal Legate, accompanied by all the nobility, and the members of the States then convened at Rouen [c]. In the field, Gabrielle had her tent pitched near that of her lover; and we find her lodged in the midst of the camp before Amiens, in 1597: but the soldiery, either more delicate in their ideas of propriety, or less servile in their deference towards their prince, murmured so loudly at her presence, that Henry was necessitated to remove her to a greater distance. Biron ventured to remonstrate with him on the scandal to which his conduct gave rise; a freedom not easily forgotten, even by so placable a monarch.

Gabrielle, lodged in the camp.

[z] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 116, 117.
[a] Ibid. p. 151. [b] Ibid. p. 146, 147.
[c] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 25.

narch[d]. We may collect, from l'Etoile, that the Spaniards themselves, besieged in Amiens, felt indignant and displeased at Henry's bringing his mistress into the camp.[e] Charles the Seventh exhibited proofs of weakness or fondness somewhat similar, for Agnes Soreille; but neither Francis the First, nor Henry the Second, tho' both were licentious princes, carried the testimonies of their attachment for the Duchesses of Estampes and of Valentinois, their mistresses, to a point of such scandalous indecorum.

Homage paid to her by the princes of the blood,

All the acts of unworthy and unbecoming submission, paid by the most prostitute courtiers under Louis the Fifteenth, to his successive mistresses, the Marchioness of Pompadour and the Countess du Barry, were infinitely exceeded during the reign which we are reviewing. Not only the first nobility, but the princes of the blood, as Villeroy assures us, kissed the border of Gabrielle's robe, presented her the napkin to wash, and shewed her the same deference which they could have done towards their queen[f]. He says that he reproached the Duke of Montpensier, with thus degrading and dishonoring his own high rank. Even ladies and princesses, who might have been supposed more delicate or tenacious on such an article, betrayed equal complaisance. We find the two Duchesses of Nemours and of Montpensier, who had acted so conspicuous a part in the

[d] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 96.
[e] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 177.
[f] Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 200, 201. Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 38.

coun-

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councils of "the League;" assisting at Gabrielle's toilet, and adjusting her ornaments[g]. In the "Ballets" given to her brother, by Catherine, Princess of Navarre, at Paris, Gabrielle dances[h]; and when his sister is confined to her bed by sickness, the King always brings his mistress with him to her apartment[i]. The Duchess of Mercœur, who boasted her descent from the antient dukes of Brittany, did not disdain publickly to enter the city of Angers, carried in the same open litter with Gabrielle[k]. Death itself could not extinguish her influence. Henry, contrary to the established custom of the kings of France, who were only used to wear violet, as mourning even for their queens; put on black, after her decease. The whole court assisted at Gabrielle's funeral service, in the church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, and the foreign embassadors condoled on her loss, as on the demise of a sovereign.[l]

and ladies of rank.

Treatment of the Queen.

Towards Mary of Medicis, Henry seems scarcely to have observed any measures, considered as a husband. At a time that he was already married to her by proxy, he publickly sent the colours taken from the Duke of Savoy at Charbonnieres, to his mistress, the Marchioness of Verneuil[m]. Bassompierre acquaints us, that on the very first evening of the new queen's arrival at Paris, her husband presented

[g] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 60.
[h] Ibid. p. 79, 80.
[i] Ibid. p. 153.
[k] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 202.
[l] Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 85. Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 43.
[m] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. iii. p. 603.

to

to her the Marchioness, her rival[n]. We may see in Sully, that however œconomical he might be on other articles, the King thought no expence too great, when the gratification of his passions was concerned. Henrietta d'Entragues, of whom mention has just been made, exacted and received above twelve thousand pounds Sterling, previous to the surrender of her person and honour[o]. His ordinary presents and donations to Jaquelina de Beuil, Countess of Moret, another of his favorites by whom he had a son, are not less profuse[p]. The circumstances of her pretended marriage in 1604 with Chanvalon, which took place in the view of all Paris, were of a nature totally subversive of decency, and demonstrate the King's indifference or contempt for the public opinion[q]. Bassompierre and l'Etoile, in every page of their works, give testimony to the dissolution of manners produced by his example, not only in the court, but in the metropolis, and through all the walks of inferior life[r]. Mary of Medicis, whatever faults of character, or defects of understanding and of temper may be justly imputed to her, was irreproachable in her private deportment. She even exerted herself with becoming dignity and severity, to repress the torrent of licentiousness which polluted every

Donations of Henry to his mistresses.

Exemplary deportment of Mary of Medicis.

[n] Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 54.
[o] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 429, 430.
[p] Ibid. vol. ii. tome. i. p. 73.
[q] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 61.
[r] Bassomp. vol. i. tome i. p. 43—46, and p. 116—135. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 118, and p. 156—159; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 136, and p. 147.

place

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place where she resided. Her pride sustained her virtue; and when she was solicited by Henry, to take some steps unbecoming a woman of strict honor, in order to facilitate his designs on the Princess of Condé, she refused. "I may suffer your amours," said the Queen, "but I never will become subservient to their "accomplishment[s]." It is impossible not to admire this conduct, or not to reprobate the King's licentious gratification of his passions.

Instance of her severity.

The Baron de Termes, a man of the highest birth and connexions in the court, having been surprized in bed with la Sagonne, one of her maids of honour, she not only dismissed the unfortunate lady from her service, with expressions of indignation; but the King's interposition and authority became necessary, to prevent her from proceeding to greater extremities. She besought of Henry to immolate the Baron to her resentment, by taking off his head; and he was compelled to abscond for a considerable time. The governess of the maids of honour, though innocent of any connivance or participation in the fact, received her dismission. Even the powerful exertions of her confessor proved ineffectual, to obtain a mitigation of these punishments[t]. Mary, in thus asserting her own dignity, and repressing the libertinism of the age, acted very differently from Catherine of Medicis, who tacitly encouraged and permitted the seduction of the females com-

[s] Vittorio Siri. Mem. recon. tome ii. p. 260.
[t] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 13, 14.

posing

posing her household. Among the singular inventions of gallantry meriting commemoration, may be reckoned "love cyphers," which were characters or marks, engraved by ladies on the arms of their lovers. In 1591, when the Chevalier d'Aumale was killed at St. Denis, his body was so disfigured by wounds as not to be recognizable. A woman of pleasure, named la Raverie, at length discovered and identified the body, by shewing the "Chiffres d'Amour," which she had herself impressed on his arm. [u]

Love cyphers.

Some remains of the romantic spirit of chivalry, are still to be traced under Henry the Fourth. When du Plessis Mornay was attacked and severely wounded by St. Fal in 1597, the King instantly wrote to the former, in these terms; "I am exceedingly affected at the outrage which you have received, in which I participate both as your king, and as your friend. In the first capacity, I will do justice to you and to myself. If I only enjoyed the second title, you have not any who would be more ready to unsheath his sword, nor who would more cheerfully risk his life for you, than myself [x]." We find the Duke de la Tremouille, when about to be invested in his castle of Thouars by the royal forces, writing thus to d'Aubigné; "My friend, I summon you, in compliance with your oaths, to come and die with your affectionate, &c." D'Aubigné immediately returned the following answer;

Remains of the spirit of chivalry.

Instances.

Duke of la Tremouille.

[u] Chiverny, vol. i. p. 205. Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 400.
[x] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 179.

"Sir,

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" Sir, your letter shall be implicitly obeyed. " I blame it nevertheless in one thing, for having alleged my oaths, which ought to be believed too inviolable ever to remind me of " them[y]." There is a fine exaltation of mind in these compositions, which carries us back to the feudal times. We are equally strangers in the nineteenth century, to many of the virtues and of the vices which characterized those ages.

D'Aubigné.

The same writer, d'Aubigné, acquaints us, that when he was entrusted by Henry the Fourth, soon after his accession to the crown, with the person of the old Cardinal of Bourbon, who was confined in the castle of Maillezais in Poitou, of which fortress d'Aubigné was governor; he received intimation of an attempt meditated against his own life, by a captain named Dauphin, a partizan of " the League." " This intelligence, though authen- " tic," says he, " did not prevent me from " giving Dauphin a rendezvous, at a solitary " house on the border of a marsh, where he " was to repair at day-light. It being accepted, " I quitted my fort, alone, ordered the draw- " bridges to be raised after me, and having " found him at the place appointed, I addressed " him in the following manner; ' Many per- " ' sons have been desirous to prevent me from " ' coming to speak with thee, because thou " ' art suspected of having engaged to kill me; " ' which assertion, however, I would not be- " ' lieve. If, notwithstanding, thou hast con-

[y] Memoires d'Aub. p. 153.

" ' ceived

" ' ceived such a design, behold two daggers " ' which I bring, and of which I leave thee " ' the choice, that with equal arms thou may'st " ' atchieve thy enterprize. I have likewise " ' caused a boat to be brought hither, to the " ' end that thou may'st escape in it across " ' the marsh, if the chance of arms should " ' prove in thy favour.' Dauphin, as much " surprised at my offer, as pleased with the " frankness of my proceeding, instantly threw " down his sword at my feet; and assured " me, with every possible mark of submission, " that no such intention had ever entered his " mind." [z]

Combat for a dead body.

In the personal animosity exhibited, as well as in the speeches and defiances which were reciprocally made or sent during the siege of Rouen in 1592, we are again reminded of the heroic times. A combat took place between the troops on both sides, over the dead body of a soldier who fell, which in obstinacy and duration might vie with the contest for the body of Patroclus, under the walls of Troy, in the seventeenth book of the Iliad. Boisrozé, on the part of " the League," and the Baron of Biron, at the head of the royalists, contended for the corpse; which was taken and retaken five times. Being finally borne off by Biron, Boisrozé, wounded, retreated slowly into the city [a]. The similarity between Biron and Ajax on one hand, as well as the resemblance of

Capitulation

[z] D'Aub. Memoires, p. 145, 146.
[a] Chron. Nov. vol. ii. p. 13, 14.

Bois-

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Boisrozé to Hector on the other, are so close and striking, that they present themselves to every reader. We can never sufficiently admire the spirit of military enthusiasm, mingled with pious veneration for the ashes of the illustrious dead, which dictated the first article of the capitulation of Amiens by the Spaniards, in 1597. Previous to any stipulation made in their own favor, the Marquis of Montenegro, who commanded in the place, required in their joint names, that "the tombs of Portocarrero, "and of all the other officers who had fallen, "should be preserved inviolate; that neither "their epitaphs nor trophies should be de-"faced; and that permission should be given "to remove the bodies, whenever they might "think proper[b]." The demand, which was immediately granted by Henry the Fourth, impresses with an exalted idea of the Castilian dignity of mind in that age, and may defy antiquity to produce any act more sublime or affecting. Neither Thucydides, nor Livy, have commemorated any incident during the memorable sieges of Syracuse, of Saguntum, or of Numantia, that challenges so much admiration. Nor will it be found easy to produce a parallel to this demand of Montenegro, in the annals of any other nation of modern Europe. Spain, in every period of her history, from the time of Hannibal down to the present day, has been distinguished for the defence of cities. Bona-

of Amiens.

[b] Davila, p. 1471. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 686.

parte

parte himself, who experienced at Sarragossa and at Gerona, the truth of the observation, reluctantly admitted their claim to that species of military superiority. But the protecting cares of the Spanish governor of Amiens, embraced the sacred rites of sepulture, and spread a shield over the fame of his deceased predecessor, while he guarded from insult the ashes of Portocarrero.

How much sincere and fervent piety tempered the valor of the most intrepid commanders, we may see in the example of Henry himself. D'Aubigné assures us, that on the night preceding the great battle of Ivry, which may be said to have decided the contest between the two parties, he was continually in prayer, attended by the Hugonot chiefs [c]. The ejaculation, which at the head of the battalions he pronounced aloud, with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, only a few moments before the action commenced, is one of the most beautiful invocations for the divine assistance, commemorated or preserved by history. It is to Davila, who was personally present on the occasion, that we are indebted for its transmission to posterity. "O Lord, thou knowest the intentions of my heart, and with the eye of thy providence thou piercest my most secret thoughts! If it be best for this people that I should attain the crown, which of right belongs to me, do thou favor and protect the justice of my arms: but if thy will hath

Mixture of piety and courage.

Prayer of Henry, at Ivry.

[c] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 229.

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"determined the contrary, if thou takest away "my kingdom, take away my life also at the "same time, that I may shed my blood fight- "ing at the head of those, who expose them- "selves to danger for my sake [d]." We are at a loss in perusing this spontaneous effusion, equally touching and elevated, whether most to admire the humble submission of Henry to the dispensations of the Supreme Being; or his magnanimous contempt of life, when it could only be preserved by the sacrifice of his throne. If his descendant, the unfortunate and passive prince who expired on a scaffold by the hands of his rebellious subjects; had possessed only a small portion of the heroic courage of the founder of his house, the calamities of the family of Bourbon and of France, might unquestionably have been averted or prevented. The lips of the Corsican usurper could not have articulated such a prayer, before the battle of Jena, or of Austerlitz.

Reflexions on it.

Defiances and challenges.

Defiances and challenges to single combat, intended by the champions as proofs of veracity, or of the justice of their cause, had not fallen into total disuse under Henry the Fourth.

Mayenne.

The Duke of Mayenne, when calumniated by the Spanish embassador the Duke of Feria, besought of Philip the Second to permit and to authorize him to assert his innocence in single combat against his adversary, as well as to name the place and arms with which they

[d] Davila, p. 899.

should

Essex and Villars.

should engage. Philip, as far as we know, appears to have treated the request with silent disregard [e]. Only three years earlier, in 1591, Devereux, Earl of Essex, commanding the English auxiliaries in the royal camp before Rouen, sent a cartel to Villars, the general of "the League" within the city, conceived in these words; "If you will fight, "either on horseback or on foot, armed, or in "your waistcoat, I will maintain that the quar- "rel of the King is more just than that of "the League," that I am better than you, "and that my mistress is handsomer than "yours. If you should decline coming alone, "I will bring with me twenty, the worst of "whom shall be an antagonist worthy of a co- "lonel; or sixty, the least of them a captain." Villars accepted the challenge, but declined abandoning his public duty to engage in a private combat, till circumstances should justify such a conduct. To the two first assertions contained in Essex's cartel, he gives the lie in the most unequivocal and formal manner: but, as to the superiority of their respective mistresses in point of beauty, he speaks with more caution, as well as indifference; contenting himself with doubting it, and treating it as in itself an object which gave him little concern. No consequences followed from the defiance [f]. Essex always wore Elizabeth's glove

[e] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 417, and p. 248.

[f] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 502, 503.

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fastened to the loop of his hat, while conducting her forces to the aid of Henry. [g]

Rage for duels.

The frenzy of duelling formed one of the most characteristic features of the age; and the impunity which attended them, loudly accused the injudicious lenity, or the criminal negligence of the government. L'Etoile asserts, that between the accession of Henry the Fourth in 1589, and the year 1607, at least four thousand French gentlemen perished in these encounters: he adds, that far from the computation being exaggerated, it would be easy to verify the list in the most accurate manner [h]. The dead bodies of those who fell, were interred without ceremony, as a matter of course, in which justice took little interest or concern [i]. A desperate and successful duellist obtained not only pardon, but enjoyed the most distinguished consideration in the court. [k]

Numbers who fell in them.

Duel of Crequi and the Bastard of Savoy.

If we would wish to form an idea of the received modes of thinking and acting, in affairs of honour among men of condition; we may do it by reviewing the principal circumstances of the memorable duel fought in 1599, between Don Philippin, natural son of Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and the Marquis of Crequi. It originated from an assertion made by the latter, that at the capture of a small fortress situated among the Alps, he had got pos-

[g] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. iv. p. 55.
[h] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 149.
[i] Ibid. p. 52, and p. 91, and p. 118, and p. 136, and p. 148.
[k] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 57.

session

session of a scarf belonging to Philippin. The Savoyard conceiving himself insulted by such a declaration, sent a challenge to Crequi. It was accepted; and at their meeting the bastard received a wound, which then terminated the contest[l]. Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, whose natural brother he was, indignant at hearing that Crequi boasted of having "drawn the "blood of Savoy," commanded the bastard, on pain of his displeasure, instantly to wipe out so insolent an affront to their common family. Phillippin obeyed, though, as it would seem, not without reluctance and many delays. A second cartel being sent to Crequi, he received the summons with alacrity. As it must have appeared nevertheless, too open and indecent a violation of the laws prohibiting duels, for Lesdiguieres, who was governor of Dauphiné, to permit his own son-in-law Crequi, to meet his Savoyard antagonist on the French territories; the scene of action was fixed to take place in a little island formed by the Rhone, within the dominions of Savoy; the meadow being previously mowed, in order to prevent any ambuscade or surprize[m]. It was stipulated that the two combatants should fight on foot, in their shirts, armed with a sword and poniard; that only a single second should be present on either side, and that they should not be separated till one of them was killed. Twelve gentlemen of the re-

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Origin of it.

Place of meeting.

Circumstances of it.

[l] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 310, 311. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 424—426.

[m] D'Aub. Hist. Gen. vol. iii. p. 400.

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spective countries, stationed at a certain distance; after the termination of the duel, were empowered to take possession of the body of the vanquished champion, and bound to protect the victor from harm [n]. A long debate arose, whether the two seconds should engage, which they warmly demanded to do, esteeming it dishonorable to remain only spectators of the danger of their friends. Good sense prevailing nevertheless over the prejudices of the time, it was at length determined, that the principals alone should decide the contest. Previous to the duel, each of the combatants underwent a search, for the purpose of ascertaining that they neither had concealed arms, nor practised enchantments. Crequi suffering his adversary to exhaust his first fury, watched an opportunity, transfixed him with his sword, and commanded him to ask his life. The Bastard disdaining it, expired on the same evening: while Crequi repassing the river Rhone, returned to Grenoble, unwounded, and covered with personal glory. [o]

Death of Don Phillippin.

Three years afterwards, in 1602, Henry the Fourth endeavoured to repress the fury of duels, by issuing an edict respecting them, of the most rigorous nature: it inflicted the punishment of death, not only on the person sending, but on him who accepted a challenge under any circumstances. In addition to the loss of life, was added the confiscation of effects, and

Edict of Henry against duels,

[n] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 312, 313.

[o] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 426—428. Guichenon, Hist. de Savoye, vol. i. p. 768. Chiverny, vol. ii. p. 89, 90. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 313—316.

every

every prohibition which could impress with terror, or deter from an appeal to the sword. "Never," says De Thou, "was a more wise "or respectable law promulgated, nor ever "was any law so ill observed [p]." The King's facility of disposition, importunity, merit, or favour, obstructing its execution, rescued the culprit from the pursuit of justice [q]. Wearied at length with the perpetual infractions of the law committed, and deeply sensible to the devastation made among the upper classes of his subjects, by so pernicious a custom; Henry, only about ten months before his death, published a second edict, in which, as a supplement to all the other penalties, was joined degradation from the rank of nobility. He moreover bound himself by a solemn and public oath, never in future to pardon an offender, even at the solicitation of the Queen [r]. The short period which elapsed between the publication of this most salutary law, and his own assassination, left its operation on the national manners, in some measure a matter of doubt. Under Mary of Medicis, the vigor of the laws became relaxed; and tho' Louis the Thirteenth revived his father's edicts, it was reserved for Louis the Fourteenth, by wholesome severity, to impose some restraint on so general and destructive a practice.

evaded.

Second edict.

During the licence of the civil wars, every crime which is produced by anarchy and contempt of the royal authority, was perpetrated

Crimes.

[p] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 110. Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 253, 254.
[q] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 216, 217.
[r] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 54—58.

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with impunity. Murders were committed, not only by the desperate or the indigent, but they were coolly and premeditatedly enjoined by persons of the highest quality, and carried into execution with every circumstance of notoriety. Assasination formed as often a measure of state, or an act of policy, as a gratification of private enmity and revenge. When the Duke of Mayenne received intimation that Menelay, governor of the town of la Fere in Picardy, had betrayed a disposition to deliver up the place to the King, he sent thither Colas, lieutenant of his guards. That emissary arriving, accompanied by a chosen band of adherents; and having met with Menelay as he returned from the celebration of mass, instantly fell upon and dispatched him. The military command in la Fere became his recompence for so atrocious an act, which merited the most exemplary punishment [s]. But in what language can we reprobate sufficiently a government, that had recourse to such expedients for its preservation? Or what opinion must we form of the morals of the nation?

Murder and assasination.

Menelay.

St. Pol.

In the murder of Marshal St. Pol at Rheims, committed three years afterwards, we equally trace the ferocious spirit of the time, when the great considered themselves as emancipated from every restraint imposed on their passions or their interests. That officer had been elevated from a very humble condition, to an extraor-

His rise,

[s] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 62. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 480, 481. De Thou, vol. xi. p. 460.

dinary height of power and consideration, under the second Duke of Guise, Henry, assassinated at Blois; his talents, adherence and intrepidity, surmounting the impediments that arose from the meanness of his extraction. After the violent death of his patron in 1588, St. Pol had received from the Duke of Mayenne, as head of "the League," the provisional superintendance of Champagne, during the non-age and imprisonment of the young Duke of Guise, hereditary governor of that province, who was then detained a prisoner in the castle of Tours. In this distinguished situation he not only maintained himself by his courage and capacity, but he had been subsequently raised to the dignity of a Marshal of France, by Mayenne. Unable, on account of the obscurity of his origin, to obtain from the King a confirmation either of his civil or military titles, he had thrown himself from despair, into the Spanish faction. With a view to retain the exclusive possession of Rheims, the capital of Champagne, he introduced into the city a body of foreign forces; nor could the most pressing solicitations of the Duke of Guise, who having escaped from confinement, desired to resume his government, induce St. Pol to dismiss the auxiliaries. Irritated at his refusal, and anxious to recover Rheims, even if necessary, by the commission of a murder, should other means prove ineffectual; the Duke, while affecting to engage in amicable expostulation with St. Pol on the subject, drew his sword, and before the other could put

and conduct.

He is killed by the Duke of Guise.

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put himself in a posture of defence, laid him dead by a single thrust. The body, stripped, and in a state of nudity, was long left a wretched spectacle for the inhabitants. As if to complete the horror of so foul and treacherous a transaction, it was committed in the presence and with the approbation of the Duke of Mayenne, denominating himself the representative of the crown. The possession of Rheims did not the less enable his nephew to purchase advantageous terms from the King, with whom he soon afterwards opened a negotiation. Henry gladly extended a pardon to Guise for every past offence, in return receiving into his obedience the province of Champagne[t]. Louis the Eighteenth, replaced on the throne of Henry the Fourth, like him, must submit to similar acts of moral humiliation or oblivion.

Impunity of crimes.

Encouraged by such high examples, secure of the tacit, or even the specific obliteration of all their crimes, on submission to the King; and accustomed to act, each in their separate command, as independant chiefs; the leaders of "the League" trampled on every civil or political restraint. Numerous proofs of this fact occur in the annals of the period. We find the Sieur du Plessis in 1598, exacting, rather than obtaining the abolition of various murders aggravated by perfidy, which ought to have conducted him to the most ignominious end. But he was in possession of castles which it im-

Du Plessis.

[t] Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 412, 413. Journ. d'Hen IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 24—26. De Thou, vol. xii. p. 239—241.

ported

ported to reduce, and whose surrender to the crown guaranteed his safety[u]. If we may believe the testimony of the criminal himself, who was executed at Meaux; the Arch-duke Albert entertained in his service an assassin, at about three pounds Sterling a month, who had undertaken to dispatch Henry the Fourth with a cross-bow of a new invention. We ought not however, to permit ourselves lightly to credit these accusations, often the offspring of credulity, error, or malignity[x]. The nobility who adhered to the royal cause, do not appear to have been more scrupulous in the use of expedients to accomplish their projects of vengeance, than were the followers of "the League." In 1595, the Count de Chaulnes and the Marquis d'Humieres, two men of the highest quality, caused their wives to be murdered: jealousy produced in both cases, so tragical a scene. One of the unfortunate ladies was strangled with her own hair, by persons masqued; the other was drowned by the hands of her husband himself. Neither enquiry nor punishment followed these enormities[y]. Civil war, which still raged thro'out France, formed their protection against juridical prosecution.

Other examples.

Even after the extinction of the dissentions caused by "the League," and the revival of the power of the crown; a long period of time elapsed before the manners of the nation grew

Outrages committed in the metropolis.

[u] Confess. de Sancy, p. 526, 527.

[x] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 141.

[y] Observations sur Alcandre, dans l'Hist. d'Hen. III. vol. i. p. 294. Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 41—44.

more

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more humane, or the majesty of the laws could impose a restraint on private animosity and revenge. The capital itself exhibited frequent instances of the inability of penal statutes, to secure personal safety. "On the 29th of January, 1604," in a time of profound tranquillity, "two gentlemen," says l'Etoile, "having met "on horseback, in one of the most frequented "streets of Paris, one of them compelled the "other to dismount, drew his sword, and laid "him dead on the ground. He then mounted "his horse, and holding in his hand the naked "sword stained with blood, retired at a foot "pace, towards the gate of 'St. Antoine,' "without any person attempting to molest him. "It was about four o'clock in the afternoon, "and still broad day-light[z]." With what facility outrages of every sort were committed in the metropolis of France, we may collect from many passages in the same author. La Fin, whose testimony had been principally instrumental in bringing Marshal Biron to the scaffold, having repaired to Paris about four years afterwards, was attacked as he passed the end of the bridge of "Notre Dame" on horseback, in the middle of the day. Twelve or fifteen men, well mounted, unhorsed him, and left him on the ground, covered with blood. Having discharged ten or twelve pistol balls at him, and killed or wounded several other persons, this band of assassins traversed the city at full gallop, with their drawn swords and fire-arms in

La Fin.

[z] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 3, 4.

their

their hands. No pursuit was made after them, for more than twenty-four hours subsequent to the fact; nor were the perpetrators ever brought before any tribunal, though it was easy, says l'Etoile, to conjecture their names and quality [a]. Vermond, one of the discarded lovers of Margaret of Valois, indignant at her preference of a new favorite, put his rival to death at the door of the repudiated Queen's palace; but he did not escape with impunity. Being ill-mounted, he was overtaken in his flight, brought back, and beheaded on the spot where he had perpetrated the crime. Margaret had the inhumanity, as well as indecency, to assist in person at his execution. [b]

The residence of the sovereign, and even the presence of the King himself, extended no protection to his subjects. In the month of August of the same year 1606, Mazanssi, a brave Gascon gentleman, was killed by du Terrail, under the windows of the royal apartments in the Louvre, on the edge of the foss surrounding the palace, or castle. Mazanssi had just quitted his sovereign, who was an eye-witness to the murder; and who expressed the utmost concern, as well as indignation, at so audacious an infraction of the respect due to himself and to the laws. It was found nevertheless impossible to overtake du Terrail, who made his escape unhurt, across the northern provinces of France, into the Netherlands. [c]

Mazanssi.

[a] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome ii. p. 110.

[b] Vie de Margarite, p. 396, 397. Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 109.

[c] Ibid. p. 121, and p. 195, 196.

That

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State of the provinces.

Banditti.

That the provinces in general were in a state of equal or greater disorder than the metropolis, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, seems to be an incontestable fact. In many parts of the kingdom, such was the dissolution of all government, that robbers and Banditti covered the country, infested the high roads, and committed every sort of outrage. It excites no little astonishment to find these crimes subsisting unpunished, in a time of perfect tranquillity, during many years, and almost down to the conclusion of Henry's reign. We must necessarily admit either the ignorance, weakness, or negligence of an administration, which could tolerate such disorders. Thro'out the vast tract of France extending from the river Loire, south to the Garonne, comprehending Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, together with part of Guyenne; life and property continued to be as insecure, as they had been at any period of the civil wars under Charles the Ninth. From 1602 to 1608, four brothers of the name of Guilleri, intercepted all communication. The fairs, for the space of thirty or forty leagues round in every direction, were deserted, and mercantile transactions became totally suspended. These chiefs retained under their command, not less than four hundred desperate followers, who retreated with the booty acquired in their excursions, to a fortress concealed among deep woods, near the town of Niort in Poitou. When we peruse such accounts, which are transmitted to us by contemporary writers, we may imagine ourselves transported like Gil Blas, to the cave of Rolando and

In Poitou and Guyenne.

Guilleris.

and his associates, described by le Sage; and we may safely assume that he did not draw a mere picture of fancy, in the relation of his hero's adventures. Niort was situate in the centre of that portion of France, denominated in revolutionary language, "La Vendee;" which has acquired in our time, between 1793 and 1796, a glorious celebrity, from the heroic efforts made by its loyal inhabitants, for the restoration of the antient monarchy, and the house of Bourbon. Efforts, which tho' they then proved unsuccessful, have since been happily accomplished, and which must render them for ever dear to every true Frenchman! Poitou may justly claim the same eminence in France, for its attachment to Louis the Sixteenth; as Dalecarlia challenges among the provinces of Sweden, by its early adherence to Gustavus Vasa: while the names of Charrette, Stofflet, Georges, and the other chiefs of La Vendee, who perished by the sword or the Guillotine, fighting for their king and their religion; will be pronounced in distant ages with the same enthusiasm, as Wallace is still remembered by the Scots, or as William the first, Prince of Orange, excites among the Dutch.

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Such was the audacity and contempt of the civil power openly manifested by the Guilleris, that they affixed in the trees, on the side of the great roads, inscriptions announcing their objects and principles. "Peace to gentlemen; death "to provosts and archers; the purse of mer-"chants." These declarations were rigidly enforced, and they did not fail to kill all the officers

Their depredations.

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cers of police or justice who fell into their possession[d]. We could not credit facts so extraordinary, if they were not transmitted to us by l'Etoile; and if they were not, from their very nature, matters of universal notoriety. A barbarous country, destitute of laws, and in a state of insurrection against its sovereign, could scarcely present a more frightful picture: yet such was the condition of one of the most civilized kingdoms of Europe, under a prince so dreaded and respected as Henry the Fourth. It may be inferred from an expression of l'Etoile, that he was ignorant of the outrages committed; and that as soon as he received information of them, he authorized measures for their suppression. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that a king so vigilant, and ministers so enlightened, could remain during many years uninformed of the condition of some of the most commercial and extensive provinces of France.

Reflexions on them.

Measures of the court, for their suppression.

As it became necessary to attack these formidable robbers in a regular manner, and to assemble forces for the purpose; in the month of September, 1608, orders were issued from Henry, to Parabelle, governor of Niort, enjoining him to levy a body of troops adequate to so desperate an enterprize. Having associated to himself eighteen provosts of the neighbouring districts, by the aid of the peasants and citizens, they soon formed an army of four thousand, five hundred men. Artillery was judged

[d] Journ. d'Hen. IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 182, 183.

requisite

requisite to ensure success. Preceded by four small field-pieces, Parabelle ventured to approach, and to storm the castle occupied by the Banditti. In this exigency their commanders were not wanting to themselves, tho' assailed by superior numbers. Sallying out of the fort, they endeavoured to open a passage sword in hand; but being overpowered and surrounded, the greater part was cut in pieces. One of the Guilleris, taken alive, expiated his crimes on the rack, as did about eighty of his accomplices. [e]

Punishment of the banditti.

The fabrication of false letters, or patents of nobility, may be reckoned among the characteristic crimes of the period: it had grown to a pernicious height under shelter of the civil wars, and formed one of the first objects of severe repression, as well as punishment, after the restoration of public tranquillity [f]. So universal was become the practice of forgery, that de Thou assures us, in 1601, during the time of the Jubilee, when every individual was enjoined to make confession of his offences; by the testimony of the priests, not fewer than a hundred thousand persons voluntarily accused themselves of having committed forgeries [g]. The fact strongly proves the general depravity of manners. By an edict issued in 1609, fraudulent bankruptcies were punished with the same rigor as robberies [h]. Impostors seem to

Forgeries.

Impostors.

[e] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 183, 184. Mercure Fran. tome i. p. 289.

[f] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 159, 160.

[g] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 573. [h] Ibid. vol. xv. p. 54.

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have excited the most severe animadversion of the laws. A man who had assumed the name and quality of Bartholomew Borghese, and who stiled himself nephew, or natural son to Pope Paul the Fifth, was for no other crime conducted in 1608, to an ignominious, as well as capital punishment. He was hanged, and his body thrown into the flames[i]. As the papal Nuntio, by order of his court, warmly solicited the false Borghese's condemnation; we may be led to imagine that some desire to gratify the sovereign pontiff, induced the commissioners named by the King, to inflict so disproportionate a penalty as death, for an offence, which, however great, might apparently have been fully expiated by imprisonment.

Offences against morals.

It is not undeserving of notice, as it displays the modes of thinking, and the progress of the human mind; that some acts, which we consider and repress rather as trespasses against morals and religion, than as crimes against civil society, were capitally proceeded against in the age under our review. Blasphemy was in more than one instance, punished with an ignominious death. A lunatic, who in 1597 called himself Jesus Christ, was, without any regard for the disordered state of his intellects, publickly executed[k]. In 1604, a man convicted of having "uttered horrible and execrable blasphemies "against Jesus Christ, and his most holy mo-"ther," was hanged, and his body afterwards

Blasphemy.

[i] De Thou, vol. xv. p. 29, 30. Bruys, Hist. des Papes, vol. v. p. 155.

[k] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 160.

burnt

burnt at Paris [l]. Another unhappy wretch suffered in the same manner for similar expressions, three years afterwards, before the cathedral of "Notre Dame [m]." In the two last cases, the criminal words uttered, being by order of the judges, suppressed; the sentence itself was consumed to ashes with the body, in order to bury in oblivion such impiety, and to prevent its pernicious consequences among the people. It is probable that in the present age, offenders of this description would only have undergone a rigorous confinement, or severe corporal correction. Nor can we forbear observing, that, in the examples above cited, preserved by l'Etoile, the culprits were all low mechanics, or waiters at places of vulgar diversion. Men of a superior description in life, we may suspect, would scarcely have been prosecuted with so much severity. Yet we may all remember the dreadful punishment inflicted at Abbeville, on the young and unfortunate Chevalier de la Barre, who was broken alive, not quite fifty years ago, for expressions of blasphemy and impiety.

Punishment of it.

Remarks on the crime.

Under Henry the Fourth, incest was considered to be deserving of death, and capitally punished. "On the second of December, "1603," as we learn from the same accurate writer, "were beheaded in the 'Place de Greve,' "at Paris, a handsome Norman gentleman, pos- "sessed, as it was said, of ten thousand Livres, "(or about four hundred pounds) a year, "named Fourlaville; with his sister, who was

Incest.

[l] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 60.
[m] Ibid. vol. i. tome ii. p. 145.

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"very beautiful, and about twenty years of "age: they were executed for incest, which "they had committed together." The unfortunate father threw himself at the King's feet, to demand their pardon, which Henry declared that he would have granted, if the lady had not been a married woman. Mary of Medicis, by her expressions of horror and detestation at the enormity of their crime, appears to have conduced to confirm her husband's resolution, not to remit or commute the punishment. The only mark of grace extended by the crown, was the restoration of their bodies to the father, for interment[n]. We are at a loss whether we ought to approve, or to condemn, so severe a sentence. Perhaps, in the present milder state of society, solitary imprisonment would appear to be a more appropriate, more efficacious, and even a more rigorous punishment, for such an offence against morals. In the case before us, it was however aggravated by adultery.

Severity of punishment.

Magic.

Magic and sorcery, where the proofs of those pretended crimes appeared to the judges to be satisfactorily made out, did not less inevitably conduct to the scaffold or the stake, than the offences already enumerated. Frequent examples of such absurd as well as barbarous executions, occur in l'Etoile, who seems to consider them as dictated by justice, and necessary for repressing the intercourse with evil spirits[o]. In 1609, a priest and a stone-cutter, convicted of

[n] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 270.
[o] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 57, 58, and p. 201.

magic,

magic, were hanged and burnt at Paris. The former was proved "to have said the ritual of "the mass backwards, and to have sacrificed to "the devil many times under a gallows." He had associated to himself as assistants or noviciates, a number of lawyers' clerks, peasants, and shepherds, under promise of teaching them occult secrets of various kinds. The art of discovering hidden treasures, of transmuting metals, of curing diseases regarded as beyond medical skill, and of acquiring affection, were among the number [p]. It can scarcely be doubted, that whatever degree of credulity might be found among the disciples, the principals were impostors.

Persons put to death for it.

Belief of the age in magic.

If we carry our enquiries minutely into the genius and state of the human mind under Henry the Fourth, it will be found, that not only the weak, the timid, the illiterate, and the superstitious, had recourse to magic as a means of penetrating into futurity; but, that men of superior education and endowments, became equally dupes to this imaginary science. The old Cardinal of Bourbon, who was proclaimed king by "the League," under the name of Charles the Tenth; had been seduced from his allegiance, and gradually persuaded to abandon the interests of the branch of the royal family from which he sprung, by the delusive assurances of astrologers, who promised him the crown, after the extinction of the reigning

Cardinal of Bourbon.

[p] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome ii. p. 119.

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house of Valois. His reliance on the completion of these predictions, laid him open to all the artifices and suggestions of the second Duke of Guise, who made of the weak prelate, an instrument to facilitate his own criminal ambition[q].

The young Cardinal of Bourbon.

We find the young Cardinal of Bourbon, his nephew, equally credulous, imputing his death, not to the natural and gradual advances of disease, but to the effects of sorcery. Sully coming to visit him, only a short time before he expired, the Cardinal exclaimed, "I am equally rejoiced "to see you, as I am persuaded you will be "concerned to find me in this state of languor, "caused by the wickedness of Madame de Ro- "zieres; who, as every one believes, has be- "witched me in such a manner, that either "she or I must speedily die." He added, that as he had been assured three days before, of Madame de Rozieres's dangerous condition, who lay at the point of death; he was still in hopes, that if she died, her charm might dissolve with her[r]. It is difficult to gather from Sully's account, what degree of faith he lent to the Cardinal's narration.

His conversation with Sully.

Gabrielle d'Etrées.

Gabrielle d'Etrées, from her anxiety to ascend the throne of France, and from the perpetual doubts which naturally arose in her mind, relative to her attainment of so vast an object of ambition, had frequent recourse to astrologers. They in general seem not to have flattered her

[q] De Thou, vol. xi. p. 154, 155.
[r] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 149.

with the gratification or enjoyment of her aspiring hopes. Deeply affected at so mortifying a notification, it preyed on her spirits, impaired her health, and probably accelerated her end [s]. Matthieu declares that he had seen the calculation made of her nativity, which was shewn to him by the man who had drawn it, and who assured him that it was infallible. The prediction asserted, that "a child would "prevent her from attaining the elevation to "which she aspired [t]." As she died in violent convulsions, at an advanced period of her pregnancy, and was delivered of a dead child before she expired, the prophecy appeared to be fulfilled. It was generally believed by her contemporaries, and positively asserted by those who were about her person and bed during her last illness, that she had communication with evil spirits, who having twisted her neck, left her in a state of distortion [u]. The melancholy spectacle exhibited by her body, which preserved no trace of its former beauty, and which was so changed as scarcely to retain the appearance of a human figure, gave rise to these fables, invented by credulity, and propagated by folly or malignity. [x]

Calculation of her nativity.

Prediction respecting her.

Circumstances of her death.

Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, who as one of the most acute and able princes of his time, might have been thought superior to

Duke of Savoy.

[s] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p 421.
[t] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 307.
[u] Observations sur Alcandre, p. 300, 301.
[x] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 211, 212.

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vulgar superstition; yet, as we learn from de Thou, lent so implicit a belief to the assurances of astrologers, that he regulated in many instances, his political or military enterprizes, by their fallacious calculations[y]. The criminal and unfortunate Biron, whose ambition abbreviated his life, and precipitated him on ruin; even down to his last moments was occupied with magical studies. When Bellievre the Chancellor, accompanied by others of his judges, entering his chamber in the Bastile, announced to him his sentence and immediate execution; they found him calculating his own nativity, and deeply engaged in the research[z]. He not only accused la Fin of having deluded and seduced him into schemes of a treasonable nature, by the predictions which were shewn him; but he set up seriously in his defence at the bar of the parliament, as his best exculpation, that he was a passive agent, under the involutary impulse of magical spells and powers too strong for resistance. No circumstance can so strikingly depicture the feeble progress which reason or sound philosophy had made at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in dispelling error, as to contemplate a Marshal of France pleading magic, in extenuation of treason: nor, though the excuse was considered as invalid or insufficient by the tribunal before which he was arraigned, did the mention of it appear to excite either ridicule or contempt in the audience. "What reliance,"

Biron.

His defence on his trial.

Nature of it.

[y] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 538.

[z] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 192.

exclaimed

exclaimed Biron, "can be placed upon the testimony of the most wicked and execrable man upon earth, who never approached me without enchantment, nor quitted me till he had previously enchanted me? Who bit me on the left ear, made me drink charmed waters, and called me his king, his prince, and his lord? He will not dare to deny that he showed me an image of wax, which pronounced these words in Latin, 'Rex impie 'peribis.' If such was his empire over an inanimate body, what could he not effect upon me, whose will he tyrannized by magic, and did with it whatsoever he pleased[a]!" The unanimous agreement of contemporary and impartial writers, is required, to convince us that there is no exaggeration in these facts.

Sully.

Sully, as we may gather from various passages in his Memoirs, by no means regarded astrological studies or predictions, as undeserving of credit and attention[b]. Even Henry the Fourth himself, with the inconsistency which is too natural to the human mind, while on some occasions he professes his contempt for such delusive pursuits, yet at other times seems equally persuaded of their foundation. L'Etoile says that two persons, named Risacasza and Villandri, had foretold to the King, his danger from Chatel's attempt to assassinate him in 1594, but that he laughed at their idle prog-

Henry the Fourth.

[a] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. v. p. 307, 308, and p. 335. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome ii. p. 194. De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 90. Chron. Septen. p. 304, and p. 311.

[b] Sully, vol. i. tome i. p. 31—33, and p. 310.

nostica-

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nostications [c]. On the memorable day when he was stabbed by Ravaillac, if we may credit the same writer; his natural son, the Duke of Vendome, came to him, to entreat of him not to stir out, as la Brosse, a man celebrated for his skill in astrology, had declared that he was menaced with a signal calamity. "La Brosse," replied the King, "is an old cheat, who has a "mind to get some of your money; and you "are a young fool to believe him. Our days "are numbered before God [d]." This answer seems to imply great strength of mind; but it is clear that he did not always think or act with such composure. [e]

His contempt of astrology,

and belief in it, on other occasions.

One of the most singular and well attested facts of his life, is the prediction that he would be stabbed in a coach. As early as 1604, Henry himself related it to Sully; adding, that he resigned his life into the hands of the Supreme Being, and that he had always been most apprehensive of poison [f]. Voltaire, sceptical as he is upon almost every historical point which can be called in doubt, admits the reality and existence of such a prediction; which, he adds, originated from the King's well known timidity in a carriage: but he forgets that those very alarms were probably produced by the denunciation [g]. We have Henry's own authority for the truth of the circumstance. During the preparations

[c] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii p. 69.
[d] Ibid. vol. ii. tome ii. p. 224, 225.
[e] Ibid. vol. i. tome ii. p. 91. Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 22, 23.
[f] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 334; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 477.
[g] Voltaire, vol. x. p. 229.

made for celebrating the Queen's coronation, Sully says, that he often, in the agony of his mind exclaimed, "I shall die in this city! "They will kill me. For, not to conceal any "thing from you, I am assured that I shall "be killed at the first great ceremony which "I shall perform, and that I shall die in a "coach. This it is, which renders me so "timid[h]." All these instances of credulity and superstition held to the progress of the understanding, and arose from the state of the human mind in that age: they disappear in a more enlightened period. No astrologer foretold the lamentable destiny of Louis the Sixteenth, of his queen and sister; the subversion of the most antient of the European monarchies, and the calamities of every kind with which France has been desolated since 1789, down almost to the present time. Nor did any pretender to occult powers predict, that out of the sanguinary abyss of the French revolution, would arise a monster covered with an imperial mantle, the scourge of Europe, the disgrace of France; whose atrocious crimes and insatiable ambition, after having rendered the earth a vast charnel-house, would precipitate him from his stupendous elevation. Neither Corsica nor Elba were announced to us, the former island as the birth place, the latter as the spot of Napoleon's exile. Neither *Robespierre* nor *Bonaparte* were ever pourtrayed by the *Moores* and the *Partridges* of the eighteenth century, in their Almanacs.

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His presage of his assassination.

Reflexions.

[h] Sully, vol. ii. tome i. p. 476, 477, and p. 479.

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manacs. Yet, such awful instruments of divine wrath, might well have been announced before their appearance, if in fact it were given to man to penetrate the darkness of futurity. But, the present age would appreciate and despise impostures, which, two hundred years ago, met with universal belief. The progress of reason and science has dissipated the delusions practised on ignorance, in less enlightened periods of time.

Facility of impostures.

The propensity to credit the marvellous, an infirmity common to man in every century, necessarily attains force, in proportion to the general intellectual darkness. Paris, at the period which we are surveying, might be considered as a theatre on which the grossest impostures were greedily swallowed. Martha Brossier, a miserable and illiterate wretch, trained to personate a demoniac by an artful and indigent father, whose deception was at once so obvious and so coarse as to excite ridicule; yet long agitated the capital, and might have produced an insurrection, if vigorous measures had not been adopted for its prevention, by the parliament. She appeared in 1599, at a time when the minds of the public still remained in a state of dangerous fermentation, not long after the promulgation of the edict of Nantes in favour of the Protestants. Neither the detection of her imposture previous to her arrival in the metropolis, the ignorance as well as imbecility of her conduct, nor the decided testimony of able and experienced members of the faculty, could dispel the illusion.

Martha Brossier.

Her appearance and deceptions.

sion. Marescot, a physician whose mind was liberated from the superstitious prejudices of the age, and who beheld in the contortions of the pretended demoniac, only the symptoms of ordinary disease heightened by artifice, endeavoured to undeceive the multitude. After detecting her tricks, he had the courage, in defiance of the admonitions of the ecclesiastics, who asserted that she was under the influence of an evil spirit, to seize and stop her in the midst of her most violent gesticulations or convulsions. The deception became apparent and undeniable from that instant, if ignorance and superstition could ever receive conviction.[i]

Testimony of Marescot.

Notwithstanding Marescot's attempts to disabuse and undeceive the people, their credulity encreased in proportion to the efforts made for their instruction. Factious or bigotted priests supported the error; and some of the physicians, deceived by equivocal appearances, either spoke with hesitation on the subject, or pronounced her a real demoniac. Her triumph was so complete, that she ventured in her pretended intervals of reason, to assert that she was possessed by three devils. She even proceeded to name the demons, to characterize them by their respective qualities, and to obtain belief, while she insulted the human understanding[k]. So universal was become the contagion, that the most serious consequences began to be

Credulity of the Parisians.

Serious consequences dreaded.

[i] Journal d'Hen. IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 209—211. Chron. Sept. p. 89—91. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 392—396. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 334—338.

[k] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 338.

justly

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justly apprehended; and Henry, alarmed, enjoined the parliament to take cognizance of the affair without delay[l]. The pulpits resounded with appeals and declamations against the pretended infraction of the privileges of the clergy, by the interference of the civil magistrates. Under a government of less vigor, a sedition in Paris would have followed. Even the final sentence, pronounced by the highest tribunal in France, declaring Martha Brossier free from all demoniacal possession, and ordering her to be sent back to her native town near Orleans; could not extinguish, though it checked, the further efforts of faction in the metropolis[m]. She was soon afterwards, in defiance of the injunctions of the parliament, carried to Rome by a new patron, who hoped in that city to convert her to purposes highly injurious to the repose of the French crown. But the papal court had changed its maxims; and Clement the Eighth, satisfied with the submission of Henry the Fourth to the Holy See, refused his aid to perpetuate imposture, or to excite commotions in the kingdom. The impostress herself, abandoned by all, was left to her original obscurity, and reduced to the last extremities of indigence.[n]

Interference and sentence of the parliament.

Termination of her imposture.

Her ill success did not however hinder a renewal of the same experiment, only five years

Other examples.

[l] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 400, 401.

[m] Chron. Septen. p. 91. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 213—217. Matthieu, vol. i. liv. ii. p. 339—342.

[n] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 403—407. Confess. de Sancy, p. 185—191.

later.

later. Another female of the vilest description, named Adrienne du Fresne, excited equal curiosity in the capital: being nevertheless prevented by the vigilance of the government and magistrates, from giving birth to any political calamity, she seems to have sunk insensibly into oblivion[o]. Yet Cayet, a writer otherwise far from contemptible, does not hesitate to assert that the demon who actuated her, had replied to himself in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and German[p]. He even relates many curious particulars of the conversation of the evil spirit, who drew to him a continual concourse of the idle, the superstitious, and the inquisitive. It was long before good sense, aided by science, dispelled these chimeras, and exposed them to ridicule.

Belief in demoniacal possession.

Among the popular superstitions then prevalent, none was more generally believed, even by the higher classes, than the existence and appearance of a phantom or spectre which appeared in the forest of Fontainbleau: it was called "the great hunter," being always accompanied with the apparatus of the chace, horses, hounds, and horns. Matthieu seriously assures us that in 1599, Henry the Fourth, hunting at Fontainbleau with his courtiers, was interrupted by this supernatural appearance; and that having commanded the Count of Soissons to advance, in order to ascertain from whence the noise proceeded; a large black man

Popular superstitions.

[o] De Thou, vol. xiv. p. 326—329.
[p] Chron. Septen. p. 407, 408.

pre-

CHAP. IV. 1589—1610. Spectres.

presented himself among the bushes, who suddenly vanished, leaving the spectators petrified with amazement and terror. He adds, that "no doubt of the fact could remain, as it had "been seen by so many eyes, and heard by "so many ears [q]." Cayet, another contemporary writer, confirms it with additional circumstances [r]. D'Aubigné likewise mentions it, tho' only as a story which he had heard and believed [s]. But neither de Thou nor Mezeray having condescended to relate so puerile a fable, their silence seems sufficiently to demonstrate the contempt in which they held these vulgar productions of folly and credulity.

Prodigies.

If nevertheless, we wish to see how susceptible of every impression of that nature was the age itself, and how implicit was the belief given to prodigies or violations of natural causes; we may behold it fully displayed in the memorable speech pronounced by the King in person, to the deputies of the parliament of Paris. The harangue was made in the palace of the Louvre, in March, 1599, on occasion of the promulgation of the edict of Nantes. It is not here a bigotted or credulous historian, who recounts a fact which he has heard from others. It is Henry the Fourth who asserts; and the members of the first tribunal in France, convoked by his order, who are the auditors.

[q] Matthieu, vol. i. liv. i. p. 155—157.

[r] Chron. Septen. p. 93, 94.

[s] D'Aub. Hist. Gen vol. iii. p. 540.

De

Memorable fact related by the King.

De Thou, one of the number, has commemorated the words, and transmitted them to posterity. "I remember," said the King, "it is "now twenty-six years ago, that being in the "court of Charles the Ninth, I proposed to "Henry of Lorrain, Duke of Guise, my relation, and who was then my friend, to play "at dice. There were with us a great number of people of the court; among others "la Chatre, who is now present, and who can "authenticate to you what I am going to re-"late. The table was wiped; when, at the in-"stant that we were going to begin our play, "drops of blood appeared, which we vainly "wiped away, and which appeared many "times, without our being able to know from "whence they flowed. We accurately remark-"ed that none of the assistants bled at the "nose, nor at any other part of the body. "Astonished at this prodigy, I drew from it "a bad omen; and immediately quitting the "game, I communicated my thoughts to my "friends. Turning to them, I said, without "being overheard by the Duke of Guise, "I foresee that there will flow torrents of "blood, on some future day, between the "Duke and me. Events as calamitous to the "state, as painful to myself, have justified my "predictions[t]."

Voltaire, not content with resolving this prodigy into the fallibility of the senses, the superstition characteristic of the time, and the

[t] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 375.

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disposition common to man in every age, to believe in the marvellous; endeavours as far as he is able, to explain the circumstance, and to account for it on philosophical, or physical principles. "The Jesuit Daniel," says he, "who "has catched at this fact, ought to have known "enough of physics, not to be ignorant that "black points, when they form a particu- "lar angle with the rays of the sun, appear "red. Every man may make this experiment, "while reading[u]." However ingenious the solution of Voltaire may appear at first sight, it is evident that it cannot apply in the present instance, since Henry asserts that the spots were repeatedly wiped out, but as often re-appeared. It is astonishing that Hume, in his "Essay on Miracles," should not have cited this story, which seems to rest on far better foundations, and to possess stronger claims to our belief, than Vespasian's cure of the lame and the blind man at Alexandria, commemorated by Tacitus and Suetonius; or than Cardinal de Retz's Saragossa tale, of the criple restored by the friction of holy oil, related in his memoirs; or the pretended miracles performed under the Duke of Orleans's regency, early in the last century, at the Abbé Paris' tomb in Paris. But there is scarcely any degree of testimony, however concurring or unanimous, which can, or which ought, to induce us to believe things in themselves impossible. If we were

Reflexions on it.

[u] Voltaire, Œuvres compl. vol. x. p. 166.

once to admit the reverse of the rule, history would become a collection of legends, fables, and prodigies.

From the defective police of Paris, added to the want of cleanliness among the inferior orders, the plague, or pestilential and malignant diseases nearly as fatal in their nature, committed continual ravages in the metropolis and its environs [x]. In August, 1603, we find near two thousand persons dying weekly of the plague [y]. Nor was the infection by any means limited to the dwellings of the indigent. Margaret of Valois, in 1606, after seeing three of the officers of her household perish before her eyes, was necessitated to quit her palace in the capital, and to retire to one of the neighbouring villages for security [z]. It spread with no less severity thro' the provinces. [a]

The plague.

Its ravages.

Henry the Fourth, among the other appendages and prerogatives attached to the monarchical dignity, inherited the supposed faculty of curing the distemper known by the name of the king's evil. He seems not to have lost any time, in dispensing its healing virtue to his subjects. As early as Easter Sunday, 1594, only about a fortnight after the subjection of Paris to his obedience; and scarcely nine months subsequent to his abjuration of the protestant

The king's evil.

[x] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 133, and p. 135; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 51, and p. 118, and p. 123. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 18 Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 619.

[y] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 259.

[z] Vie de Marg. p. 398,

[a] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 144.

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faith; "he touched publickly," says De Thou, "in the court of the Louvre, conformably to "an antient custom, six hundred and sixty poor "persons infected with the Scrophula; and in "his own apartment, he touched thirty other "persons of a higher description [b]." Cayet declares, that many of these individuals, it was notorious, had been cured by the royal touch; adding, that the voluntary return of the rector, professors, and members of the university of Paris, to their duty and obedience, was principally produced by the emotions excited in them, at seeing Henry thus fulfil one of the most sacred functions belonging to a Catholic king of France. [c]

Persons touched by Henry the Fourth.

Spaniards.

Matthieu asserts, that the greater number of those individuals who came to Fontainbleau in 1602, to avail themselves of his power of healing, were Spaniards. They arrived under command of a captain or leader, who brought in his hand an attestation from several Spanish prelates, of cures performed by Henry on their countrymen [d]. It may be inferred from this account, as well as from other passages, either that Philip the Second and Philip the Third did not arrogate the same virtue, or that they had attained no celebrity among their own people, in its exercise. De Thou speaks of the pretension and practice, as a prejudice sanctioned by antiquity [e]. The degree of confidence which

[b] De Thou, vol. xii. p. 149.
[c] Chron. Noven. vol. iii. p 347.
[d] Matthieu, vol. ii. liv. ii. p. 212.
[e] De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 521.

Henry

Henry himself placed in its efficacy, it is not easy to determine; but in his letters addressed to Sully, he expresses great anxiety to touch the persons who had repaired to him at Fontainbleau for the purpose[f]. It appears from concurring testimonies, that towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards were much more universally afflicted with cutaneous and leprous distempers, than the French. During the time that the troops of Spain remained in garrison among the Parisians, peculiarly in the course of the memorable siege of 1590, when they became domiciliated in the metropolis of France, they communicated the disease to their allies. It proved so malignant, that many hundreds died of it; but the ejection of the foreign auxiliaries soon afterwards from Paris, checked and gradually extinguished its ravages[g]. We may reasonably doubt however whether the malady of the Spaniards, was not rather the disease said to have been originally brought from the New World; the effects of which continued to be most sensibly felt among the French of every rank, thro'out the period under our review. The symptoms, as described in many of the contemporary writers, seem at least to justify the opinion.[h]

Leprous diseases frequent among them.

[f] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 72. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 240, and p. 252, and p. 266.

[g] Satyre Men. vol. ii. p. 133. Chron. Nov. vol. iii. p. 349, 350.

[h] Confes. de Sancy, p. 312, 313. Sat. Men. vol. ii. p. 382. Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome i. p. 102; and tome ii. p. 133, and p. 139, and p. 142, and vol. ii. tome i. p. 5.

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Canine madness, common.

Among the scourges or calamities of the time, may justly be reckoned the frequency and deplorable effects of canine madness, particularly in Paris. No measures of efficacy seem to have been pursued, for preventing the accidents themselves; and so imperfectly understood were the methods of cure, that it was customary on the first symptoms of insanity, however equivocal or slight they might be, to anticipate its progress, by putting the person to death.

Persons put to death, who were afflicted with it.

The mode adopted of extinguishing life, was usually either by suffocation between two feather-beds, or by administering laudanum. We find instances cited in l'Etoile, of husbands thus reluctantly dispatching their wives, fathers expediting their children, and friends performing the office of executioner to those whom they most fondly loved[i]. The unfortunate wretches themselves often besought of the persons present, to liberate them from the horrors of madness, by dispensing to them poison. It is nevertheless evident, that the remedy of dipping in the sea was known, prescribed, and practised[k].

Superstitious observances, and modes of cure.

But the ignorance and superstition of the people, induced them frequently rather to recur to supernatural or pious means of cure. A shrine of St. Hubert, situate in the district of the Ardennes, on the frontiers of Flanders, was resorted to by many individuals, who hoped by

[i] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. i. tome ii. p. 249; and vol. ii. tome i. p. 20.

[k] Ibid. vol. ii. tome i. p. 50.

his

his powerful intercession with Heaven, to avert the consequences of the accident. Experience constantly proved the inability of the saint to effect so salutary a work, without extinguishing the practice itself[1]. With such difficulty does reason penetrate, and so natural is it for man to have recourse to the most absurd expedients under indisposition, in preference to those remedies dictated by wisdom and professional science.

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[1] Journal d'Henry IV., vol. ii. tome i. p. 22, and p. 128.

GENERAL STATE OF EUROPE, AT THE *DEATH OF HENRY THE FOURTH*, IN 1610.

SOON after the commencement of the seventeenth century, at the time of Henry the Fourth's assassination; a period when the history of France becomes intimately blended with that of all the surrounding countries; it cannot prove destitute of improvement, to take a summary, but comprehensive survey of the general state of Europe; as we have already done on a more enlarged scale, in the first volumes of this work, at the accession of Henry the Third. During the course of Thirty-six years, which are included in the united reigns of the last prince of the race of Valois, and the first sovereign of the family of Bourbon; some great and momentous changes which challenge attention, had taken place in the European political system. Two kingdoms, those of Portugal and of

1610. General state of Europe.

1610. Extinction of Portugal and Scotland.

of Scotland, had totally disappeared from the map, as independent monarchies. The former country, subjected by the arms of Philip the Second, after the decease of the Cardinal Henry, successor of the unfortunate Sebastian; was lost, with all its colonies and conquests acquired by Gama and Albuquerque thro'out the two hemispheres, which only served to augment the enormous mass of the Spanish dominions. Scotland, on the extinction of the house of Tudor, and the accession of James the First to the throne of Great Britain, became virtually a province; tho' it still continued for above a century, to retain the name and honors of a separate state.

Changes in its system.

As if to supply the vacant place of these suppressed, or extinguished sovereignties, two new powers had however arisen during the same

Rise of Holland,

interval on the continent. Holland, after maintaining an unequal struggle for more than forty years, against the tyranny of Spain, had attained to political freedom. The seven northern provinces composing the Dutch republic, had been successively recognized as free, by the neighbouring nations; and that commonwealth was recently acknowledged even by its antient masters, at the truce concluded under the guarantee of France and England. On the other hand, the ten remaining

and of the Austrian Netherlands.

provinces of the Austrian Netherlands, which the enlarged policy, combined with the military talents of the Prince of Parma, had regained for Spain; were again dissevered by Philip

Philip the Second from his hereditary dominions, in favour of his daughter, Clara Isabella. The Spanish Princess, after having given her hand in marriage to the Archduke Albert, one of the younger sons of the Emperor Maximilian the Second; in virtue of her father's donation repairing to Brussels, held her court, and fixed her residence in that capital. The government of the Low Countries was exercised in the joint names of the Infanta and her husband. But, the sterility of this matrimonial union, aided by the ties of policy which connected Flanders with the court of Madrid; secured at once its present obedience to the counsels of Spain, and its eventual reversion to the successors of Philip. At the eastern extremity of Europe, the Polish sceptre, which after the extinction of the Dynasty of Jagellon, had become twice elective; first in the persons of Henry of Valois, and afterwards of Stephen Battory; was transferred to the family of Vasa, another branch of which house reigned at the same time over the Swedes. In that new line of princes, the crown of Poland continued to be hereditary for more than eighty years. These important political and territorial alterations, which had materially affected the balance of power in Europe; might, it was obvious, become eventually productive of still more serious consequences to its repose.

1610.

Poland.

If we were compelled to select a period in the modern annals of England, when the sovereign and the nation equally occupied the most dis-

1574. England.

1574. distinguished place among the European states, we should probably fix on the concluding years of Elizabeth's reign. That Princess, to whom, with more propriety than to Margaret of Waldemar, might be attributed the title of the "Semiramis of the north;" had then attained to the highest point of internal security, combined with external glory. The execution of Mary Queen of Scots, whatever moral disapprobation the act itself may justly excite; had released her from a rival who formed at once an object of her personal hatred, and of her political apprehension: while the destruction of the Spanish Armada in the following year, had annihilated all the ambitious, or vindictive projects of the court of Madrid. After that event, which secured her throne on solid foundations, she long continued to prove herself the scourge of Spain. Hawkins, Frobisher, Drake, Raleigh, and a crowd of illustrious adventurers, continually sailing from the ports of England, covered the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; desolated the American continent, from the bay of Campeachy, down to the mouths of the Oronoque and the La Plata; intercepted the Flotas, on their return from Mexico to Seville, or to Lisbon; and rendered the intercourse of the Spaniards with the New World, not less hazardous, than it was in itself precarious[a].

Vigorous administration of Elizabeth.

1587.

1588.

1589—1597.

Her successful attacks

Elizabeth even ventured, after distressing Philip's colonies, to carry her arms into Spain itself; the energy of the English people, in-

[a] Hume's Hist. of Eng. vol. v. p. 361, 362. and p. 376—378. Rapin, vol. vii. p. 526.

flamed by the expectation of plunder, supplying all the deficiencies of her scanty revenues. If the central and inaccessible situation of Madrid, placed at a vast distance from any sea, protected that capital from insult; yet the coasts of Gallicia, Portugal, and Andalusia, were not less ravaged in turn by her fleets. The cities of Corunna and of Vigo were successively carried by storm. Norris and Drake entering the river Tagus, advanced to the gates of Lisbon, made themselves masters of the suburbs, and had they been seconded by the efforts of the Portugueze, would have placed Antonio, Prior of Crato, who laid claim to the crown, on the throne of his ancestors[b]. Some years afterwards, Cadiz itself was taken by the Earls of Nottingham and Essex: nor could the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Philip's commander, devise any other expedient for saving the Galleons from falling into the enemy's possession, except by devoting them, with all their wealth to the flames. The loss sustained by the Spanish sovereign and nation, from this enterprize alone, was estimated at the sum of nine Millions Sterling[c]. It served to convince Europe how feeble were the means of defence possessed by that vast monarchy, which had inspired so much dread thro' all the surrounding states, during the course of the sixteenth century.

1589—1597. of the Spanish monarchy. 1597.

Even the political clouds which collected over

1598—1603.

[b] Rapin, vol. vii. p. 516, 517.

[c] Hume, vol. v. p. 379—381. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 196. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 97.

England,

1598—1603. Conclusion of her reign.

England, towards the evening of Elizabeth's reign; Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland; the insurrection, followed by the death of Essex; together with the secret intrigues carried on between her ministers and the Scottish King; — these interruptions of her individual felicity or repose, neither diminished the exertions, nor weakened the energy of her government. She continued, after the peace of Vervins, in which treaty she refused to be included, and subsequent to the death of her implacable enemy Philip the Second, to harrass, invade, and molest his successor. Tyrone, tho' aided by four thousand veteran Spanish soldiers, was reduced to supplicate her forgiveness; and his Castilian allies were either put to the sword, or obliged to evacuate Ireland with disgrace[d]. Essex suffered the natural consequences of his treasonable temerity, presumption, and ingratitude. Towards the Dutch, Elizabeth extended the same protection which had raised and fostered the infant republic. Her troops eminently contributed to the victory obtained by Maurice, Prince of Orange, over the Archduke Albert, at Nieuport, on the coast of Flanders: while Sir Francis Vere, by her orders, long defended Ostend against the united forces of Spain and the Netherlands. Yet, restraining her native magnanimity by the rules of policy, she retained in her hands the cautionary towns, Rammekens, Flushing, together with the Briel,

Her foreign policy, towards the Dutch,

[d] Hume, vol. v. p. 435—438, and p. 443—445.

which

which rendered her mistress of Zealand; and enabled her, without accepting the proffered sovereignty of the United Provinces, to preserve a decided ascendant in the counsels of the commonwealth.[e] 1598—1603.

Henry the fourth of France, who during the course of his long wars with "the League" and the Spanish crown, had received from the English Queen, continual assistance, pecuniary and military; possessed too sound a judgment, in the subsequent period of his prosperity, to neglect his early benefactress. Cultivating her friendship with assiduity, he manifested for her the highest attachment, mingled with admiration. Her masculine mind, unimpaired by the advances of age, stretching its views forward to futurity, had already conceived and matured a plan for attacking the house of Austria in both its branches, jointly with the King of France. She communicated this project to Henry, thro' the medium of his minister Sully; and that prince, when on the point of attempting to carry it into execution some years later, was assassinated by Ravaillac[f]. Tho' her subjects enjoyed neither liberty of manufactures and commerce, nor the inestimable advantage of a limited constitution; yet their enthusiastic affection for her, was not diminished by these privations. and towards France.

The nation, long enslaved under the despotism of the house of Tudor, did not begin systematically Domestic government.

[e] Rapin, vol. vii. p. 564, and p. 578.

[f] Sully, vol. i. tome ii. p. 12—15. Hume, vol. v. p. 433, 434.

1598—1603. matically to aspire to the possession of freedom, before the ensuing century; and Elizabeth suffered little molestation from their impatience or efforts, to anticipate the term of their emancipation. When we consider to how envied a height of power and consideration, the wisdom of her government had raised the English people; when we reflect on the duration of her reign, comprehending above four and forty years; and compare its felicity with the administrations of her two predecessors, Edward the Sixth and Mary; or with that of her two immediate successors of the house of Stuart; we cannot wonder at the natural and just idolatry which is still felt for her memory.

1603—1610. Reign of James the First. If a woman who only reigned over the southern part of the island; and who, besides the disadvantages arising from her sex and her want of issue, governed by a doubtful title; could nevertheless occupy so distinguished a place among the European powers; it might reasonably be expected that James's influence would prove still more extensive. He was in the vigour of his age and talents, the undoubted heir by descent to the throne, having sons to inherit his dominions, and the quiet possessor of two kingdoms, which had so long been rivals or enemies. But, these accumulated advantages could not long maintain his reputation, or conceal his defects of conduct and character. In the course of only seven years subsequent to his accession, while he lost the esteem of his own subjects, he forfeited the respect of foreign states. Occupied some-

sometimes in disputes respecting abstract points of polemical divinity, rather becoming a theologian, than worthy of a monarch; engaged at other times, in altercations with his parliament, upon points of prerogative, or of supply; he suffered the great interests of his crown and people, to be trampled on with impunity. His undistinguishing prostitution of honors and dignities, stood conspicuously opposed to the judicious parsimony of Elizabeth on that article. The revenues, which even her severe frugality had found inadequate to supporting the accumulated burthens of domestic insurrection and of external hostility; from the facility and prodigality of James, soon became unequal to defray the ordinary expences of government in time of tranquillity.[g] 1603—1610.

Pusillanimity, indolence, or incapacity, characterized all the operations of state. One of his first acts, as king of England, after his accession, had been the conclusion of a peace with Philip the Third: a measure, which in itself, might challenge approbation, if the injudicious, and impolitic precipitation with which it was accompanied, had not degraded him in the eyes of the Spanish government. The complaints made by the English, of the depredations committed by the subjects of Spain, on their shipping and commerce, manifested how little apprehension was felt by the court of Madrid, at the idea of James's resentment, or retaliation[h]. His high Weakness of his measures.

[g] Hume, vol. vi. p. 3—5, and p. 10—14, and p. 15—23.

[h] Rymer's Federa, tome xvi. p. 585. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 65. Hume, vol. vi. p. 43.

1603—1610. ideas of the sanctity of kingly power, and of the passive obedience of the subject, impelled him to regard the Dutch, more in the light of rebels, or as a revolted people, who had thrown off the subjection due to their rightful prince; than as a state emancipated by its own generous exertions, from intolerable tyranny. If the remonstrances of his wisest ministers induced him, in compliance with the dictates of policy, and from deference to the wishes of the English nation, to extend his protection to the United States; he yet neither displayed the cordial amity, nor the magnanimous contempt of danger, which had characterized his predecessor, in all her conduct towards Holland.[i]

Decline of the national reputation.

The place which that princess had occupied, as protectress of the Protestant states and religion, was in fact after her decease assumed by Henry the Fourth. Tho' become by profession a Catholic, yet his enlargement of mind, and knowledge of the interests of France, induced him to oppose to the disproportionate greatness of the house of Austria, so formidable a counterpoise. He became in consequence, the arbiter of Lombardy, of the German empire, of the Dutch Republic, and of the Baltic powers. England, which for near half a century, had constituted the most luminous point in the European system, suffered under James, a temporary eclipse. The peace which its inhabitants enjoyed, was at once precarious and undignified: nor did the

[i] Winwood, vol. ii. p. 55. Memoires de la Boderie, vol. i. p. 120.

country resume its just rank, till after the death of Charles the First, and the exile of the Stuart family, during the short, but vigorous government of the Commonwealth, followed by the splendid usurpation of Cromwell. 1603—1610.

If, however, the political consideration of Great Britain declined under James, many of the sources of its internal felicity, and even its future greatness, silently augmented, or expanded themselves. Civil liberty, restrained by the vigilant and dextrous hand of Elizabeth, began early in the reign of her successor, to give marks of vigour, and to menace the branches of prerogative beneath which it had long been oppressed. Trade, emancipated from many of the impolitic monopolies or prohibitions imposed by the crown, introduced riches among the people. Agriculture and manufactures proportionably advanced, and the King appears to have extended to them a liberal protection. Woollen cloth and silk were already fabricated in England with considerable skill[k]. The East India Company, to whom James had granted a new and more ample patent, encreased the number of their shipping, the amount of their pecuniary stock, and the quantity of their exports[l]. As early as 1609, they ventured to construct, and to send out to India, a vessel of twelve hundred tons; the largest merchant ship which at that time had ever been seen in the kingdom. Progress of trade, manufactures,

[k] Hume's Hist. of England, vol. vi. Appendix, p. 180—183.
[l] Ibid. p. 184.

1603—1610. and colonization.

Colonization keeping pace with the other efforts of industry, undertook to people the American continent. Before 1610, Virginia, a province which had been discovered, and as quickly abandoned under the preceding reign, was settled on solid foundations. The islands of the Bermudas, as well as some of the chain of the Carribbean Archipelago, were in like manner successively planted[m]. Sugar, tobacco, and many other valuable articles imported from the New World, became common among the English.

Letters.

The human mind advanced with energy in every branch of letters or improvement, and some of the greatest names had already appeared, which adorn the annals of our literature. "The Fairy Queen" of Spenser, an Epic poem full of beauty, however inferior to the "Paradise Lost," belongs to the age of Elizabeth. Shakspeare enriched the theatre with those eccentric and irregular, but original and inimitable productions, which place him at once above rivality or eulogium. Raleigh, from his prison in the tower, addressed to Prince Henry, eldest son of James, his "History of the World;" while Bacon, disgusted with courts, endeavoured to find consolation in the pursuits of science, and directed the researches of his countrymen to the sublime truths of natural philosophy.

Scotland.

The history of Scotland during the reign of James the Sixth, previous to his ascending the English throne, has been given to mankind by one of the finest writers of the last century,

[m] Hume's Hist. of England, vol. vi. Appendix, p. 184.

himself

himself a native of that country; under whose descriptive pen it has acquired elegance and dignity. The Scottish annals are notwithstanding, deficient in all those events or occurrences, which awaken attention, and excite interest, as connected with the European system. The feuds of a fierce and licentious nobility, perpetually attempting to dictate to the crown; conspiracies, which follow each other in rapid succession; and the insolent or seditious efforts of a fanatical republican clergy, to model the ecclesiastical polity on a democratic basis;—such are the principal circumstances which embellish or diversify the Scottish annals[n]. The Earl of Morton, who, supported by Elizabeth, exercised the regency during James's minority, for several years; perished, like various of his predecessors in that dangerous eminence, by a violent death. Murray and Lennox had been successively assassinated; the first, at Linlithgow; the last, at Sterling. Morton expiated on the scaffold, the errors or crimes of his administration[o]. The Scots, nevertheless, derived little benefit as a nation, from the punishment of the regent; whose predominant passions, avarice and rapacity, did not produce more intolerable evils, than resulted from the inexperience, facility, and profusion of James himself.

1574.

Sterility of its history.

1574—1581.

Execution of Morton.

That prince assuming the reins of government, early exhibited the propensity to be led by unworthy favorites, which characterized him

1581—1587.

[n] Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. passim.

[o] Ibid. p. 51—83.

1581—1587. Government of James.

thro'out his whole reign, and which embittered in an eminent degree, the evening of his life. Enslaved by a series of minions, equally destitute of virtue and of talents; possessing neither prudence, discernment, nor economy; he was scarcely known beyond the limits of his own contracted dominions, and took little part in the wars, negotiations, or great transactions of the continent. Philip the Second, it is true, after the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, endeavoured to render James subservient to his own plans of ambition, or of vengeance, by tempting him to co-operate with Spain in the invasion of England. But, the Scottish prince, tho' irritated against Elizabeth for her treatment of his mother, and alienated by many other acts of her treacherous, or malignant policy; yet cautiously refused to listen to the propositions made by the Court of Madrid [p].

1588.

1589—1603. Spirit of his measures.

Keeping his eye constantly fixed on the English crown, he endeavoured by submission and adherence, to merit so splendid a reversion. The Queen did not the less refuse to withdraw the mysterious veil, with which she studiously concealed the secret of the succession to the throne, nor could James's entreaties induce her to violate her maxims of policy [q]. At almost every period of her reign, either by force, insinuation, or corruption, preserving an ascendant in the Scottish counsels, she disarmed, or

[p] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 189—195.

[q] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 244—246.

averted

averted the temporary resentments of the King. His patience and obedience were at length recompensed, and on her decease he ascended the English throne. 1589—1603.

From this Era, Scotland cannot with propriety be said to preserve any distinct and separate history, except as a dependency of England, in which country it became merged; tho' the union, or incorporation of the two monarchies, did not take place till the succeeding century. Whatever exultation was felt by the Scottish nation in general, at giving a sovereign to their more opulent and powerful neighbours, who had so often attempted to reduce them to the condition of the Welsh and Irish; we must candidly admit, that the Scots, considered as a people, were injured by the immediate consequences of James's accession. The removal of the seat of government from Edinburgh to London, by occasioning the absence of the court, diffused a gloom over the capital and the kingdom; impeded the progress of knowledge, depressed the genius of the country, withdrew the principal incitements to industry and art, prevented the influx of wealth, and aggravated all the inherent vices or defects of its political constitution[r]. 1603—1610. Union of the two crowns.

The Spanish monarchy at every period of the reign of Philip the Second, not less towards its close, than at its commencement, forms, if not the most pleasing or interesting, unquestionably the most important object of political 1574—1598. Spain.

[r] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 293—307.

1574—1598. Review of the reign of Philip the Second.

contemplation which Europe then presented to the human mind. The character and talents of that prince, as well as the genius of his measures, active, dark, malignant, and ambitious; influenced deeply on the general felicity and repose of mankind. The history of Spain includes, or furnishes the most memorable transactions of the period; the revolt of the Netherlands; the reduction of Portugal; the brilliant, but, unprofitable victory gained over the Turks at Lepanto; the unsuccessful naval expedition undertaken for the subjugation of England; lastly the wars of "the League," secretly fomented against Henry the Third; and the open hostilities carried on against Henry the Fourth, by the same power. Even the private and personal anecdotes, or domestic misfortunes of Philip, which awaken a lively curiosity, are closely connected with his public conduct. The death of Elizabeth of Valois, his third queen, followed immediately by that of Don Carlos, then his only son; over both of which tragical events is drawn so impenetrable a veil: the amours of the King with the Princess of Eboli; the disgrace and imprisonment of Antonio Perez, Secretary of state; the assassination of Escovedo, followed by the premature end of his master, Don John of Austria; lastly, the spectacle of Philip himself expiring, like Sylla in antiquity, by the slow, but irresistible attack of diseases the most loathsome, which yet could neither weary his patience, nor shake his fortitude;—these events furnish ample mat-

ter of reflexion to the historian, the statesman, and the philosopher. [s] 1598.

Neither the strength of his genius, nor the vices of his heart, survived in his successor. Philip the Third, naturally humane and disposed to acts of beneficence, was destitute of capacity to sustain the vast pressure of so immense a monarchy. Indolent, superstitious, pacific, supine, and formed to be governed, he wanted experience or discernment to select a minister capable of vivifying and animating the extenuated members of his scattered dominions. The Cardinal Duke of Lerma, on whom, from the instant of his accession, he devolved the cares of administration; did not possess, like Richlieu, a master mind, formed by nature to conduct the complicated machine of government. He was only a weak and unworthy favorite, such as his two contemporaries, the Constable de Luynes, and the Duke of Buckingham; whom the puerile partiality of Louis the Thirteenth, and the improvident bounty of Charles the First, elevated to the summit of honors. The administration of so many kingdoms and provinces, was committed by Lerma, to his secretary Calderona. [t] Accession, and character of Philip the Third.

If Philip the Third had possessed the talents and enterprize requisite for conducting armies, occasions were not wanting of attacking the French crown with every advantage, and of 1599—1610. Incapacity of his measures.

[s] Leti. Vie de Phil. II., vol. v. and vi. passim. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 97—105.

[t] Desormeaux. Abregé d'Espagne, vol. iv. p. 195, 196. Abregé Chronol. tome ii. p. 458.

recovering

1599—1610. recovering the honor, as well as the territories, recently lost by the treaty of Vervins. During the course of the short war which took place between France and Savoy, occasioned by the detention of the Marquisate of Saluzzo; Charles Emanuel loudly, but vainly, reclaimed the protection of his brother-in-law, the Catholic King. Fuentes, who was placed at the head of a numerous and veteran body of forces in the Milaneze, panted to signalize himself against the antient enemies of Philip. Biron, already deeply engaged in a criminal correspondence with Spain and Savoy, only waited for an opportunity of exciting an insurrection in the province of Burgundy[u]. It is not easy to conceive how Henry the Fourth could have successfully resisted the efforts of external hostilities, combined with domestic rebellion. Destitute as he then was of issue, and scarcely confirmed upon the throne, while France was hardly rescued from anarchy and civil war; the monarchy might have been again humbled by the same power, which had already inflicted on it wounds so numerous and severe.

Want of vigor, and economy.

On the other hand, had Philip been endued with qualities formed to restore order in the finances; Spain, however exhausted by the prosecution of his father's ambitious views, might speedily have been reanimated and invigorated. A power which possessed almost the monopoly of the commerce of the globe, master of both the Indies, receiving annually prodigious re-

[u] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 183—210.

mit-

mittances of gold and silver from the New World, could not want pecuniary resources. Henry the Fourth had exhibited a proof of the rapid as well as beneficial effects, produced by a system of wise and severe frugality, supported by order, and maintained with firmness. If France, destitute of any trade beyond the Atlantic, without colonies, without mines; only from its internal productions or industry, could yet in a few years extricate itself from an abyss of public debt; what change might not be effected by a King of Spain? But, the feeble Philip only slumbered on the throne; and far from attempting to reform, or to eradicate the vices under which the monarchy was oppressed, he permitted them to become inveterate and irremediable. Impolitic restrictions or prohibitions, prevented all communication between the respective provinces of the same kingdom. The armies employed in the Netherlands, unpaid, were driven into revolt: while the troops of the Dutch republic, inferior in numbers and in military fame, yet in consequence of the regularity with which they received their arrears, repelled the utmost efforts of Albert, aided by the talents of Spinola [x]. The current coin was debased: sumptuary regulations were enacted, such as might have existed in a poor republic situate among the Alps; while taxes at once pernicious and intolerable, were levied on the people [y].

1599—1610.

Maladministration of the finances.

[x] Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 199, and p. 206.
[y] Abregé d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 464.

Holland,

1599—1610. Depredations of the Dutch.

Holland, notwithstanding the war which she sustained on the banks of the Meuse and the Rhine, already began to commit inroads on the Spanish commerce, and even to attack their settlements in every part of the world. The Canaries, Brazil, Mozambique on the eastern coast of southern Africa, and the Moluccas, placed at the extremity of Asia;—all were either invaded, plundered, or subjected by a people, who, only half a century earlier were scarcely known to exist; and who after emancipating themselves from tyranny, began to be numbered among the great maritime powers of Europe [z]. Even the coasts of Spain and Portugal were not secure from the insults, or depredations of the Dutch: while in the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Gallies desolated the shore of Calabria, ravaged Sicily as well as Sardinia, and carried off the inhabitants into slavery [a]. Philip compleated the depopulation of the Spanish monarchy, by expelling the Moors from the southern provinces of Valentia, Murcia, and Granada: a measure, in which, whatever palliation may have been suggested by modern ingenuity, every sentiment of humanity, and every dictate of enlarged policy, were sacrificed to the tyranny, intolerance, and rapacity of the Inquisition. [b]

1610. State of the Spanish monarchy.

Notwithstanding these multiplied calamities, Spain, under Philip the Third, shortly after the

[z] Abregé d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 459, and p. 463, 464.

[a] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 461, and p. 463, 464. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 204, and p. 214—217.

[b] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 395—397. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 222—226.

com-

commencement of the seventeenth century, still maintained its pre-eminence among the European states, in power, extent of dominion, resources, and reputation. Like antient Rome, at the extinction of the Antonines, tho' far declined from its meridian splendor; it presented a stupendous and colossal fabrick, supported "by antient renown, and disciplined valour." The numerous latent principles of political or national decay, had not yet produced their full effect; and many of them lay concealed from general view. Spain long continued to inspire terror by her armaments, and even by her menaces. The Spanish bands, formed under the great Prince of Parma, were confessedly superior to the soldiery of every other country; and Spinola, a Genoese, was a commander not unworthy to contend with Maurice, Prince of Orange, one of the greatest generals of the age. Philip's naval force was formidable on the Atlantic; and in the Mediterranean, his gallies, if they could not always protect the Neapolitan coasts, yet hovered over those of Barbary, repressing the audacity of the Moors along the whole African shore, from Tripoly, to the western boundaries of Morocco[c]. After the assassination of Henry the Fourth, Philip, notwithstanding the infirmities of his character and administration, remained for a short time, the arbiter of Europe. Under the tumultuous and ill established regency of Mary of Medicis, France disappearing in a great measure from view, lost

1610.

Its splendor, and reputation.

Forces.

Terror, which it inspired.

[c] Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 214, and p. 226, and p. 229.

her

1610. her preceding consideration: while England had already suffered a similar diminution of power and consequence, after the accession of James the First. Savoy resuming her antient connexions, returned to her former alliance; and Charles Emanuel sent one of his sons to Madrid, there at the feet of the Catholic King, abjuring his father's transgressions, to promise future allegiance on his part[d]. It was not till Richlieu assumed the first place in the French counsels, about fifteen years later, that the measures were adopted, which levelled and humbled the power of Spain.

Magnitude of Philip's dominions.

When we attentively consider the magnitude of the Spanish monarchy at this period, which extended over a prodigious portion of the planet of the earth, we are swallowed up in its contemplation. The Roman empire, which stretched uninterruptedly from Lusitania, east to the Parthian frontiers; and from the banks of the Elbe, or the Rhine, south to the Numidian, or Mauritanian deserts; yet appears small, if compared with the dominions of Philip. Besides his European possessions, he reigned, as King of Portugal, over the immense tract of coast in Asia, from the entrance of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, to the Phillippine islands, and the sea of China. Ormus, Goa, Malacca, together with the most flourishing, or commercial cities of the East, were included in this division of his territories. The forts and factories, established on

[d] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 796. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 228. Abregé d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 466.

the

the shores of Africa, thro' both hemispheres, from Cape de Verd, round to the Straits of Babelmandel; together with all the various clusters of islands scattered over the Atlantic, obeyed the same common master. If to these possessions we add the vast American continent, from the mouths of the Missisippi, to the extremity of Patagonia, and all its dependancies; we must confess that human wisdom was unequal to controuling, superintending, and animating so unweildy a mass. 1610.

The most valuable branches of commerce then known to Europeans, were almost monopolized by Spain. Venice, Genoa, and Portugal, among whom it had long been divided, having severally declined, were become extinct as trading powers. On the other hand, England and Holland were only beginning to colonize, to equip fleets, and to enter into a competition for the benefits of trade. France, however completely she had been rescued by Henry the Fourth, from anarchy, and restored to her just place in the system of Europe; had not as yet directed her policy and exertions to the extension of traffic. The Baltic powers were supplied by the Hanseatic League, with every article of necessity or luxury; tho' that powerful confederation was annually sinking in maritime consideration. Spain beheld the richest productions of Asia poured into the Tagus, at the same time that the treasures of Mexico and Peru were annually transmitted to Seville, on the Galleons. The spirit of the nation, raised and inflamed by three

Commerce of Spain, immense.

1610. Genius of the Spaniards.

three long reigns of glory or victory, embracing collectively more than one hundred and twenty years; conceived no atchievement too arduous for its strength, if conducted by ability, and pointed with judgment. Even in the productions of genius and taste, the Spaniards leading the way, might contend for superiority with every other people. While Mariana composed the annals of the monarchy, Cervantes acquired immortality by the unequalled effusions of wit, humor, and satire. Velasquez adorned the Spanish palaces with the most beautiful productions of painting; and Lope de Vega refined the taste of his countrymen, at the same time that he carried away the palm of dramatic composition. Had a great prince, like Ferdinand the Catholic, arisen among them at the time of Henry the Fourth's decease, it is difficult to imagine what limits could have been affixed to the ambition, the grandeur, or the conquests of Spain.

1580—1598. Portugal.

After having surveyed the Portugueze during the period of their elevation and prosperity, under the reigns of Emanuel and John the Third; it forms an equally instructive, tho' a less pleasing task, to consider them in the state of humiliation and servitude to which they were subsequently reduced, after the death of Sebastian. The conquest of Portugal was effected by Philip the Second, with incredible facility and celerity. His immense power and military preparations; the irresolution and delays of the Cardinal King, Henry, in deciding upon the right of succession to the crown; the venality

Causes of its reduction by Philip the Second.

of

of the nobles, a great number of which body, basely sold their country to Spain; lastly the exhausted condition in which Portugal was left, by the imprudent enterprize of Sebastian to the coast of Africa; — these united causes delivered up the kingdom an easy prey to Philip[e]. He governed it, not with the enlarged and liberal policy of a beneficent legislator; but, by the arbitrary, or vindictive maxims of a tyrant. The ecclesiastics, among which order of men survived a greater share of loyalty and patriotism, than in any other class of citizens, were driven in crouds to the gibbet, or the scaffold. Such were the scruples that arose even in Philip's obdurate mind, from the multitude of executions which took place, peculiarly among the monastic orders; that his conscience could not enjoy repose, till he had received from the sovereign pontiff, Gregory the Thirteenth, a *Bull*, dispensing to him pardon for those sanguinary acts[f]. While the Portugueze nobility were plundered or insulted, the people were oppressed. All the efforts made by Anthony, Prior of Crato, to ascend the throne, with the assistance of France and England; were frustrated by Philip's vigilance, and the measures of the Cardinal Albert, Viceroy of Portugal, who afterwards espoused the Infanta Clara Isabella. The unfortunate Anthony, after various unsuccessful

1580—1598.

Maxims of his administration.

Tyranny of Philip.

[e] La Clede. Hist. de Portugal, vol. ii. p. 74—98. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 118—123. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 210—215.

[f] De Thou, vol. viii. p. 599.

1580—1598. attempts, abandoned and forgotten, expired at Paris, the ordinary asylum in that age, of fugitive princes[g]. Various impostors, who assumed the name and title of Sebastian, while they exercised the credulity, awakened the hopes of the Portugueze: but, they quickly expiated their momentary assumption of royalty, by imprisonment and death[h]. The nation, enslaved under a gigantic power too strong for resistance, submitted almost without murmuring, to its Castilian oppressors.

Submission of Portugal, to the Spanish yoke.

Our astonishment is excited, when we reflect on the promptitude and unanimity manifested by the colonies of Portugal, in transferring their allegiance to a prince of the character of Philip, and in tamely becoming provinces of the Spanish monarchy. Among all the vast dependencies of Sebastian, scattered over Asia, Africa, and thro'out Brazil; the islands of the Azores alone, situate in the midst of the Atlantic, refusing to bend under a foreign yoke, declared in favor of the Prior of Crato. It was not till after repeated defeats, followed by the severest punishments, that Philip extinguished so dangerous a commotion[i]. At his decease he devolved the crown of Portugal, in common with all his other dominions except the Netherlands, to his successor. We may judge of the import-

[g] Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 177.

[h] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 141, and p. 174, 175. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 162—172. Abregé d'Esp. vol. ii. p. 443, and 452, 453.

[i] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 128, 129, and p. 132—142, and p. 149—155.

ance

ance of the acquisition, in a political and maritime point of view, by the quota exacted from its inhabitants, as the Portugueze proportion of aid towards the Armada fitted out in 1588 against England. It consisted of ten great Galleons, thirteen hundred sailors, three thousand soldiers, and three hundred and fifty pieces of artillery. [k] 1580—1598.

Notwithstanding so essential an assistance, the court of Madrid, far from extending protection or favour to the Portugueze nation, beheld with a secret and malignant satisfaction, the destruction of their commerce, accompanied by the decline of their foreign establishments. Before the death of Philip the Second, the Dutch had already penetrated beyond the Cape of Good Hope, into the Indian Seas; and soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century, those enterprizing navigators found means to subject a part of the Molucca islands [l]. In this situation, deserted by their new masters, the Portugueze did not however abandon themselves. They even repulsed the enemy before Malacca and Mozambique, to both which places the Dutch had laid siege; and long retarded by their valor, tho' they could not finally prevent, the subversion of their empire in Asia [m]. Under Philip the Third, Portugal, inured to oppression, and accustomed to despotism, no longer displayed any marks of the energy or the enterprizing spirit, which had characterized the 1598—1610. Decline of the Portugueze greatness. Its degraded and fallen state.

[k] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 157. [l] Ibid. p. 290—295.
[m] Ibid. p. 295—299.

1598—1610. nation for more than a century, under its native kings. Sunk into languor and oblivion; in that state of degradation it was not easy to foresee, that before the middle of the seventeenth century, the house of Braganza would ascend the throne, and again restore the kingdom, if not to the eminence from which Portugal fell, yet to a place among the continental powers of Europe.

Netherlands. The ten southern provinces of the Netherlands, which the tyranny of Philip the Second had originally driven into rebellion; and which had been recovered to Spain principally by the great civil and military talents of the Prince of Parma; were again dissevered from the body of the monarchy by Philip, in favor of the Infanta Clara Isabella. Motives of state combining with sentiments of paternal affection, conduced to originate the measure; which was not however finally adopted without long deliberation, after a strenuous opposition made to it in the Spanish cabinet[n]. The King justly considered, that in case of the demise of his only son without issue, the Infanta would in her own person inherit the crown of Spain itself; and that on the other hand, if her marriage with Albert should prove unproductive of posterity, the Low-Countries must equally revert back to his direct descendants. Even if she produced children, yet the conditions annexed by him to the donation of the Netherlands, ren-

Dissevered by Philip the Second.

[n] Bentivoglio, Wars of Flanders, p. 314—317.

dered

dered the ten provinces virtually dependant on the court and counsels of Madrid. In addition to these considerations, it was hoped that the Dutch, whose antipathy to the Castilian government was insurmountable; might be more readily induced to reunite themselves to the other provinces of the Low-Countries, when they once more formed, as antiently under the Burgundian princes, a species of independant state. But, in this expectation Philip was deceived. The seven United Provinces well knew how to appreciate the tenure, as well as the limits, of Albert and Isabella's power: neither the Dutch, nor the other European courts distinguished between the cabinets of Brussels and of Madrid, both which acted by a common impulse. After the sterility of the Infanta had ascertained the eventual reversion of Flanders to Spain, as a certainty; Philip the Third embraced its interests, and undertook its defence, with as much warmth as he would have done, if he had been attacked in Castile or Arragon [o]. The monthly expence incurred by that prince, for maintaining the armies employed against Holland, independant of the contributions of the Flemings themselves, did not fall much short of forty thousand pounds Sterling. [p]

1598—1610. Motives of the measure.

In the space of time between the peace of Vervins, and the truce concluded by Spain with the Dutch, all the martial youth of Europe resorted to the Low-Countries, there on that

State of the Netherlands,

[o] Bentivoglio, Wars of Flanders, p. 348, 349.
[p] Ibid. p. 362.

1598—1610. great theatre to learn and practise the art of war. The siege of Ostend, one of the most memorable in modern ages, while it called out all the resources of military skill and science; gave rise to some of the finest effusions of classic genius, from the pen of Grotius, in commemoration of its long resistance to the Spanish arms[q]. Albert, destitute of issue, declining in years, unfortunate in the field; and desirous of repose; accelerated the termination of hostilities, by his personal exertions to remove the obstacles to peace, which perpetually arose at Madrid, or at the Hague[r]. The beneficence of his character, when added to the numerous virtues and great endowments which rendered the Infanta his wife, one of the most amiable princesses of the age; diffused felicity over the Netherlands. The Flemings, who for almost fifty years had been plundered and tyrannized by their Spanish masters, or desolated by the incursions of the enemy, enjoyed a temporary respite. While trade revived, letters were protected; and Clara Isabella did not disdain to assist in person, at the public lectures delivered by the celebrated Lipsius, in the university of Louvain. If we were called on to point out the period, from the abdication of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in 1556, down to the peace of Utrecht, early in the last century, during which the Austrian Low-Countries have been administered with most attention to the happiness

under Albert and Isabella.

Its felicity.

[q] Du Maurier, Hist. d'Orange, vol. i. p. 298, 299.
[r] Bentiv. p. 377.

piness of the people; we should unquestionably fix on the time when they were governed by Albert and Isabella. 1580—1592.

In no respect was the general aspect of western Europe so essentially changed and affected, during the course of the sixteenth century, as by the revolt of the Dutch, and their final attainment to independance. We cannot contemplate without admiration, the long struggle maintained by those sterile and contracted Batavian provinces, against the immense resources of the Spanish monarchy. It appears nevertheless highly probable, that if Philip the Second, after the assassination of William, Prince of Orange, in 1584, had directed his chief exertions to reduce to obedience the United States of Holland, they must have been compelled to implore his clemency. The Prince of Parma, after rendering himself master of Antwerp, which gave him the command of the Schelde; and after subjecting or regaining the Netherlands, prepared to transfer the theatre of war once more beyond the Maese, into Holland. The Dutch, tyrannized and betrayed by Elizabeth's general, the Earl of Leicester; had not as yet found a new protector against the Spanish power, in Count Maurice of Nassau, who, at his father's death, was too young to assume the command of armies. Happily for the new Republic, Philip's principal attention at this period of his reign, became attracted towards France; the destruction, if not the complete subjugation of which kingdom, he long attempted

Seven United Provinces of Holland.

Causes of their emancipation.

1580—1592. tempted to effect by the distribution of his treasures, as well as by force of arms. Farnese, in consequence of peremptory orders issued from the cabinet of Madrid, twice abandoned the prosecution of his conquests in the Low-Countries, at the most critical juncture, in order to march to the relief of "the League." His absence proved fatal to Philip's projects for the subjection of his revolted subjects. [s]

1592—1602. Genius, and exploits of Prince Maurice. During the interval of near ten years which elapsed between the death of the Duke of Parma, and the appearance of the Marquis Spinola, as commander of the Spanish armies; Maurice, declared Stadtholder by the Dutch, repaired the bulwarks of the Commonwealth, enlarged its frontiers, and confirmed its political freedom. Spinola, whose military talents qualified him for conducting the most arduous operations of war; leading the Spanish forces across the Rhine, entered the province of Friesland, and seemed to menace the United States with calamities such as as they had formerly experienced from the arms of the Duke of Alva. But, these efforts were beyond the strength of Spain to prosecute with vigor or effect. The crown had devolved on Philip the Third, whose indolence and inaptitude for the conduct of public affairs, diffused a languor over every part of the monarchy. Mutinies among the troops, resulting from want of pay, impeded or frustrated every attempt of Spinola, to ren-

1602—1608.

[s] Strada. de Bello Belg. vol. iv. liv. vi—x. passim. Bentivog part iii. book iii—vi. passim.

der

der the provinces of Holland and of Utrecht, the scene of hostilities; till mutual lassitude, rather than any decided advantage gained on either side, produced a suspension of arms. A truce was finally concluded for twelve years, leaving to the two powers, the respective territories and pretensions of which they were previously in possession[t]. At this memorable period, we shall take a short survey of the state of the seven United Provinces. 1609. Truce with Spain.

Their sovereignty, which had been long admitted or recognized by various courts of Europe, was virtually conceded, if not formally specified, in the recent treaty signed with them by their antient masters. The troops of Holland, conducted by Maurice, were numerous, subjected to severe discipline; and at the celebrated battle of Nieuport, fought on the coast of Flanders, had vanquished the veteran bands of Spain, led by the Archduke Albert in person. Their naval force, still more formidable than their armies, and more analogous to the genius of the nation, contended successfully with the fleets of Philip. Neither inferiority of numbers, nor disparity of strength, prevented Heemskirk and other Dutch admirals, from attacking the Spaniards, even under the protection of their own coasts, harbours, and batteries[u]. The commerce of Holland already embraced every part of the globe; and the company established for carrying on the trade 1610. State of the seven United Provinces. Forces. Trade.

[t] Bentivog. part iii. book i—viii. passim.
[u] Abregé d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 463, 464.

to

1610. to the East Indies, employed no less than a hundred and fifty vessels, manned by above eight thousand mariners and soldiers [x]. Colonies began to be formed in Java, in the peninsula of Malacca, and along the coast of Malabar, which soon transferred the wealth of Portugal from the Tagus to the Texel. The rustic simplicity of manners, by which the Dutch of the Sixteenth century had been characterized, gradually disappeared; and the Hague, under Maurice, became one of the most polished European courts, crouded with strangers, adorned with monuments of taste or splendor [y]. Letters, cultivated with ardor, were patronized, and diffused thro' the inferior orders. Leyden already ranked among the first universities of Europe. Scaliger, neglected in France, sought protection in Holland. The elder Vossius met with similar patronage: while Hugo Grotius, tho' still in early youth, had immortalized himself, and rendered a distinguished service to his country, by vindicating the freedom of the ocean. His "Mare liberum," appeared precisely at the memorable time when a truce was concluded between Philip the Third and the United Provinces. [z]

Refinement.

Letters.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of progressive opulence and refinement, the Dutch Republic laboured at the beginning of the seventeenth century, under some almost into-

[x] Bentivog. part iii. book viii. p. 379.

[y] Du Maurier, vol. i. p. 299—301.

[z] Biogr. Dict. vol. vi. p. 310—314; and vol. xi. p. 309—312; and vol. xii. p. 364—367.

lerable political evils. Spain not only continued to nourish a desire of vengeance, while she waited for a favorable occasion of renewing the war; but Philip remained master of various places situate in Friesland, Overyssel, and Zutphen, which afforded him an easy entrance into the center of the United Provinces[a]. 1610.

Public debt.

The States were indebted to James the First, King of England, the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds Sterling, advanced to them by his predecessor, Elizabeth; and that prince retained in his hands, as a security for its repayment, the three cautionary towns, Flushing, Rammekins, and the Briel, which might be esteemed the keys of Zealand[b]. A power, thus pressed by Spain on its eastern frontier, while her principal maritime places were held by the English, could scarcely be said to have attained to political freedom or independance.

Severity of taxation.

The Dutch themselves were loaded with taxes, in order to maintain the forces indispensable for their protection, and to pay the interest of the sums borrowed of individuals by government. Yet, as early as 1608, we know from the incontrovertible testimony of the Grand Pensionary Barneveld, who held the highest office of trust and responsibility in the Republic; that the annual deficiency in the revenue and contributions, fell little short of two hundred

[a] Bentivog. part iii. book vii. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 375—377.

[b] Carleton's Letters, p. 27, 28. Hume's Hist. of Eng. vol. vi. p. 80, 81.

thou-

1610. Internal dissentions.

thousand pounds Sterling[c]. To these pecuniary financial embarrassments, were added the internal feuds, civil and religious, which agitated Holland. The sects of the Gomarists and Arminians heated the minds of their respective followers, by their interminable, acrimonious disputes respecting obscure or unintelligible points of theology[d]. On the other hand, Maurice, whose military talents, sustained by the services which he had rendered to his country, made deservedly popular; evidently aspired to assume, or to acquire an authority, subversive of the constitution of the Republic, and fatal to her liberty[e]. If the united effect of these causes and circumstances is considered, we shall not wonder at the disposition manifested by the states of Holland to terminate the war with Spain, and to apply prompt, as well as efficacious remedies, to the augmenting diseases of the commonwealth.

Effect of these causes.

1580—1589. Savoy.

The history of Savoy, towards the conclusion of the sixteenth, as well as at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is closely implicated or interwoven with that of France, of Spain, and of Europe. The active, restless ambition of Charles Emanuel, prompted him at every period of his long and busy reign, to attempt the aggrandizement of his house, together with the augmentation of his sterile or contracted territories. With that sole object in view, he alternately directed his exertions

Genius, and measures of Charles Emanuel.

[c] Du Maurier, vol. ii. p. 92, 93.
[d] Ibid. p. 96—103.
[e] Ibid. p. 88, 89.

against

against the French or Spanish kings, as his interests or policy dictated. Allied to Philip the Second by his marriage with the Infanta Catherine, youngest of the two daughters of that prince; and relying on the protection of so powerful a monarch, he ventured, in a time of profound peace, to attack and seize on the Marquisate of Saluzzo, situate among the Alps: sole remain of all the conquests made by France in Lombardy, under four successive reigns, and which opened a passage into the plains of Piedmont. Henry the Third, embarrassed by the machinations of "the League," which threatened his crown and life; resented, but wanted means to punish, so insolent an infraction of the faith of treaties [f]. During the period of anarchy and civil war that followed under his successor, Charles Emanuel extended his views to the acquisition of Dauphiné and Provence; two provinces of France lying contiguous to his hereditary dominions. His affability and munificence, still more than his arms, had nearly atchieved their reduction. The fickle and versatile character of the people; the number of contending factions which he could neither conciliate nor extinguish; the valour of La Valette, who commanded for the crown in Provence; and the great abilities of Lesdiguieres, to whom Henry the Fourth entrusted the defence of Dauphiné;—these causes checked nevertheless the progress of his conquests. The

1580—1589.

1589—1598.

Ill success of his schemes.

[f] Guichenon, Hist. de Savoye, vol. i. p. 715—719. Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 353—355.

feeble

1589—1598. feeble assistance which he derived from the co-operation of the Spaniards, and the inferiority of the Savoyards to the French, in military skill as well as discipline, finally compleated his expulsion. [g]

1599—1601. Philip the Second may seem to be justly reproachable with want of policy or of vigor, in abandoning the interests of his son-in-law at the treaty of Vervins, and in not securing to him by the articles of that peace, legitimate possession of the Marquisate of Saluzzo. We must however recollect that the King of Spain, struggling under the pressure of incurable maladies, was then approaching the termination of his life and reign. Henry the Fourth, triumphant over the Court of Madrid, and having vanquished "the League," demanded with menaces, the restitution of so valuable a part of the French succession. Confident nevertheless in his own powers of insinuation and address to avert the blow, Charles Emanuel repaired in person to Paris: but he found there a prince equally inaccessible to flattery, as he was deaf to entreaties. Deserted by his natural protector and ally Philip the Third, he did not hesitate rather to meet the shock of the French monarchy in the field, than to restore his usurpation. Relying on the criminal intrigues which he had commenced with Biron and others of Henry's ministers, and conscious of the natural strength of the country which must become the theatre of hostilities, Charles Ema-

His intrigues in France.

[g] Mezeray, vol. ix. p. 450, 451, and p. 485—490, and p. 526—530. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 724—749.

nuel

nuel betrayed no apprehension about the consequences. It was not till the incapacity, treachery, or timidity of his confidential servants, had allowed Henry to render himself master of the whole duchy of Savoy, and to approach the confines of Piedmont, that a negotiation was opened for peace. Even in this desperate situation of his affairs, the Duke magnanimously preserved his honour, at the expence of his interests; by conceding a considerable tract of fertile territory, the counties of Bresse and Bugey, which extended almost from the gates of Lyons, east to the bank of the Rhone, in order to preserve Saluzzo, the original subject of the war. [h]

1599—1601.

Peace with Henry the Fourth.

Smarting with the chastizement which he had received, and incapable of repose, he directed his attacks to a more vulnerable quarter, by attempting to surprize Geneva, the center and asylum of heresy in that age. The plan was conceived with such ability, matured with so much secrecy, and executed with such vigor, that if it had not been frustrated by a coincidence of circumstances which no human wisdom could have foreseen, that little republic must have been extinguished. It was nevertheless saved at the moment when its ruin seemed to be effected [i]. Repulsed in so favorite an object of his ambition, and indignant at the treatment of the court of Madrid, the Duke of Savoy threw himself into the arms of France. Henry the Fourth, who already projected the

1602.

His attack of Geneva.

1603—1610.

[h] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 767—785. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 163—210.

[i] Ibid. p. 787—789.

demo-

1603—1610. Alliance with France.

demolition of the Austrian greatness, received his advances with pleasure. A determination being embraced by the two princes, to invade the Milanese with their joint forces; that beautiful portion of Italy, so frequently overrun or conquered, was destined for Charles Emanuel, together with the title of King of Lombardy. The success of the project appeared to be infallible, and every preparation was made for its immediate and rapid execution, when the King of France expired by the dagger of Ravaillac. Charles Emanuel, fallen from his hopes, and bereft of his new ally, found himself compelled to recur to Philip the third and the Duke of Lerma for pardon[k]. The strength and activity of his character, the number of his troops, and still more, the geographical position of his dominions, which in every rupture between the French and Spanish courts, rendered his alliance inestimable; — these circumstances, nevertheless, in some measure counterbalanced all his losses, and placed the Dukes of Savoy, if not among the most powerful, yet among the most important princes of the south of Europe.

Political importance of Savoy.

1574—1597. Venice.

Venice, which had attained to so distinguished a point of elevation and prosperity at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was far declined from that eminence, before its close. The discovery of a passage to India by the Portugueze, had undermined the foundation of

Its decline.

[k] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 403—407. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 795, 796.

their

their commerce; while the gradual advances of the Turkish Sultans on their eastern frontier, along the shore of the Adriatic, had overturned the bulwarks of the republic in Dalmatia, and seemed to threaten her very existence. The history of Venice, which from the time of the earliest Crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, down to the death of Francis the First in 1547, is perpetually blended with the general history of Europe; becomes, subsequent to that last-mentioned period, comparatively almost a blank. Italy itself had experienced about the same time a revolution, favorable indeed to its local repose, but injurious to the political consequence and national importance of the Venetians. After the decease of Henry the Second in 1559, the kings of France renounced or abandoned their ruinous efforts to conquer the duchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples. Lombardy, which had so long formed the theatre of hostilities, enjoyed in consequence of this change of policy, a transient calm; and Venice was no longer compelled to take an active part in every rupture between the French and Spanish crowns. Reduced in her dominions, revenues, and resources, the commonwealth studiously avoided every cause of quarrel with the Ottoman Porte; and the Senate beheld with pleasure the arms of Amurath the Third and his successor, turned against Persia or Hungary [k]. The naval equipments or enterprizes of Venice,

1574—1597.

Change of policy,

and pacific system.

[k] Laugier. Hist. de Venise, vol. x. p. 309, 310, and p. 341, 342.

1574—1597. subsequent to the battle of Lepanto, were limited to the protection of trade, or to the punishment and suppression of such adventurers as

Uscoques. molested the navigation of the Adriatic. A horde of pyratical Banditti, denominated Uscoques, who, protected indirectly by the Austrian princes, issued from their harbours and fastnesses in Dalmatia or Morlachia, and plundered ships of every nation; were at length suppressed by the Venetian fleets[l]. Even in transactions materially affecting the balance of power in Italy, their efforts became so languid, that they beheld with a sort of indifference, the duchy of Ferrara, once so important a portion of Lombardy, confiscated by Clement the Eighth, on the death of the Duke Alfonso the Second, and incorporated with the patrimony of the church.[m]

1598—1605. Wisdom of the Venetian government. If, however, neither the wisdom of the Senate, nor the cautious and circumspect policy which characterized their measures, could heal the commercial wounds of the republic, the government at least concealed its weakness and decline from general inspection. All the fine arts were protected in the capital, which constituted at the same time, the centre of luxury, taste, and magnificence. The genius of the Venetian administration, secret, vigilant, and even severe on some points, was yet exempt from rapacity or oppression. Protection was equally extended to every subject, and in no Catholic

[l] Laugier, vol. x. p. 308, 309, and p. 315, and p. 331, 332, and p 336—339. Schmidt Hist. des Allemans, vol. viii. p. 488—482.
[m] Ibid. p. 332—336. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 110—112.

state

state were the ecclesiastics restrained with so strong a hand. When Paul the Fifth, relying on the sanctity and plenitude of his apostolic authority, ventured to lay the Republic under an Interdict, and to arrogate a right of withdrawing the Venetian clergy from the jurisdiction of the civil tribunals, the Senate firmly opposed his pretensions. Neither intimidated by his menaces, nor terrified by excommunications, that dignified assembly exhibited to Europe, an example of equal moderation and inflexibility. While they every where repressed the zeal or seditious spirit of the monastic orders, and maintained internal tranquillity thro'out their dominions; they allowed the impotent indignation of the feeble pontiff, to revert upon himself. The celebrated Paolo Sarpi, commonly denominated Father Paul, animated with a love of civil liberty, and a spirit of patriotism rarely found in the cloyster; defended with his pen, the invaded immunities of his country. In defiance of the Anathemas, and even of the daggers of the church of Rome, he persisted to resist its usurpations, while he disclosed its intrigues[n]. Paul the Fifth, disappointed in his expectations, and reprobated even by the Sacred College, esteemed himself fortunate to terminate so humiliating a dispute, by recurring to the mediation of Henry the Fourth; a prince whom his predecessor Clement the Eighth had so long refused to admit into the bosom of the Romish church. Revoking his precipitate censures,

1606, 1607.

Their conduct towards the Holy See,

and triumph.

[n] Biogr. Dict. vol. x. p. 209—222.

1606, 1607. and renouncing his claims, he gladly purchased from the Venetian Senate by these concessions, an oblivion of every past transaction. [o]

1610. State of Venice. Venice, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, if she could no longer be esteemed formidable, from her forces or her revenues, yet remained a respectable Italian power. Even after the loss of Cyprus, subjected by Selim the Second, her territories were extensive, comprehending Candia, Corfu, and various other islands. The fortress of Palma-nova in the province of Friuli, recently constructed at an immense expence, and regarded as impregnable, secured in some measure the vulnerable frontier of Istria, from the predatory incursions of the Turks [p]. A great proportion of the commerce of the Mediterranean, as well as that of the Levant, was still enjoyed by the Venetians; and many of their manufactures or productions, had attained a point of unequalled beauty. A fleet of twenty-eight gallies protected constantly the navigation of the Adriatic, over which gulf she arrogated a sort of exclusive sovereignty; and on emergencies, this squadron was augmented to forty vessels [q]. The military forces constantly on foot, did not fall short of ten thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, independant of the militia, which body exceeded thirty thousand men [r].

Naval, and military force.

[o] Bruys, Hist. des Papes. vol. v. p. 143—153. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 363—375. Laugier, vol. x. p. 345—576.

[p] Ibid. p. 327, 328.

[q] Ibid. p. 422, 423. Galluzzi, Hist. de Toscane, vol. iv. p. 220—223, and p. 241—246.

[r] Ibid. p. 423, 424

In

In the affection, submission, and obedience of its subjects, the Commonwealth possessed inexhaustible resources. If to these natural and political advantages, we add the wisdom and vigour of the government, we shall not wonder that even in her decline, Venice continued to attract the envy, and to excite the admiration, of every surrounding state. 1610.

Tuscany, which for near forty years, under the wise, moderate, and vigorous administration of Cosmo of Medicis, had enjoyed an uncommon portion of national felicity; experienced a complete reverse during the reign of Francis, his successor. That prince, tho' initiated by his father, at an early period of life, in all the mysteries of state, and associated to all the labours of government; abandoned himself from the instant of his accession, to the indolence of his disposition, and the vices of his character. Enslaved by his mistress Bianca Capello, a Venetian lady of noble birth, whose name is become too celebrated in the Florentine annals; he did not blush publickly to espouse her, after the death of the Grand Duchess his wife, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand the First. Tuscany, governed by a rapacious female of the most dissolute manners, plundered and oppressed, sunk in the scale of Italian states, while the country declined rapidly in commerce, manufactures, and population[s]. The Venetian Senate, nevertheless, in order to conciliate the friendship of Francis, did not hesitate with un- 1574—1587. Tuscany. Reign of Francis of Medicis. His vices.

[s] Galluzzi, vol. iv. p. 419—428.

1574—1587. worthy adulation to adopt the fortunate object of his choice, and by a solemn act of the legislature, declared Bianca "the daughter of the Republic." [t]

Subserviency to Spain. Neglectful of the wise maxims by which his father Cosmo had secured his independance, and asserted his dignity, in times the most perilous; Francis sacrificed both those objects to the views of Philip the Second. The vast treasures, amassed by the frugality of his predecessor, were lavished to feed the necessities, to gratify the ambition, or to satiate the vengeance of the court of Madrid. A Grand Duke of Tuscany, who from his revenues, territories, and resources of every kind, might have attracted the respect of all Europe, became only the subservient instrument of Spain [u]. Rapacious, and even avaricious from natural disposition, he was nevertheless profuse in his gratifications. Immured, like his contemporary the Emperor Rodolphus the Second, in his laboratory, and occupied in chymical researches, or pursuits of art; he became inaccessible to his subjects, deaf to their complaints, and unaffected by their misery. Insensible to glory, to pity, or to shame, neither entreaties, remonstrances, nor menaces could awaken, or propel him to exertion. His vices alone, for the misfortune of his people, were active. Destitute of male issue, he beheld with detestation his presumptive heirs, Ferdinand and Peter, the two sur-

[t] Galluzzi, vol. iv. p. 187—151.
[u] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 133—136, and p. 168—178.

viving sons of Cosmo. In his protection of letters, and in that respect alone, he seemed not totally to have degenerated from his progenitors of the house of Medicis. His reign, comprizing the space of about thirteen years, exhibits a series of the most revolting crimes; almost equalling in atrocity the pontificate of Alexander the Sixth in modern history, or the most flagitious and profligate of the Roman Cæsars in antiquity.[x] 1574—1587.

Ferdinand, eldest of Cosmo's surviving sons, himself a member of the Sacred College, succeeded to his brother's dominions. The combination of virtues and talents which met in his character, seemed necessary to obliterate the misfortunes of the preceding administration. Anxious to emancipate himself from the humiliating servitude to Spain, in which Francis had remained during his whole reign, the new grand Duke began by cultivating the alliance of France. After having married by virtue of a papal dispensation, Christiana, Princess of Lorrain, niece to Henry the Third, he continued to supply his successor the King of Navarre, with the means of resisting Philip the Second. To the ample and timely remittances of money made him by Ferdinand, Henry the Fourth was eminently indebted for the preservation of Marseilles, for the expulsion of the Duke of Savoy from Provence, and even for his ultimate triumph over Spain and "the 1587—1598. Accession of Ferdinand. He assists the French crown.

[x] Galuzzi, vol. iv. passim.

1598—1609. Marriage of Mary of Medicis.

League[y]." All the political ties which antecedently united the two courts, were further cemented by the marriage of Henry with Mary of Medicis, daughter of Francis, and niece of Ferdinand. But the political advantages which might permanently have resulted to Tuscany from such an alliance, became frustrated and subverted by the incapacity of Mary, by her indocility, violence, and subserviency to unworthy favorites. The grand Duke, alienated by the Queen's ingratitude, and disgusted at Henry's neglect, found himself necessitated, towards the conclusion of his reign, to recur to the antient connexions of his family, with the house of Austria. He was conscious that the King of France, who by the relinquishment of the Marquisate of Saluzzo to Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, had virtually renounced all his views on Italy, and who was destitute of any naval force in the Mediterranean, could extend to him no protection. Philip the Third, besides the Milaneze and Naples, possessed the garrisons which held Tuscany in awe, and gave him an easy entrance into Ferdinand's dominions. The Cardinal Duke of Lerma, who then governed the Spanish monarchy, gladly meeting the advances of a prince, whose friendship in some measure guaranteed the Italian possessions of his master; harmony was once more restored between the courts of Florence and Madrid.[z]

Ferdinand returns to his connexions with Spain.

[y] Galuzzi, vol. v. chap. 1—7. passim.

[z] Ibid. vol. v. chap. 8—12. passim.

At

At the termination of Ferdinand's reign, Tuscany, in addition to the advantages of a beneficent, wise, and mild administration, joined security, dignity, and independance. The military forces which he maintained, were numerous: while the marine constantly equipped for active service, not only protected the coasts from pyratical depredations; but ventured on more than one occasion, successfully to attack the Ottoman gallies, and to invade the islands of the Archipelago[a]. Trade, encouraged by the protection and example of the sovereign, revived on the banks of the Arno. Ferdinand, who like his ancestors, the elder Cosmo, and the great Lorenzo, in the fifteenth century, did not disdain to blend commerce with government; was the first merchant of Italy, and of Europe[b]. Such were the prodigious profits which he derived from his mercantile enterprizes, that they enabled him to acquire and accumulate treasures; at the same time that by acts of princely munificence, he awoke and encouraged the industry of his subjects[c]. Manufactures of every kind attracted to Tuscany the gold of foreign nations; and Leghorn, which became the Emporium of the Mediterranean, was frequented by the English, Dutch, and all the northern powers. The most liberal regulations were adopted by the grand Duke, in order to surmount the natural

1610. State of Tuscany.

Commerce.

Foundation of Leghorn.

[a] Galluzzi, vol. v. p. 479—482, and p. 502—505, and p. 536, 537.

[b] Ibid, p. 555—557.

[c] Ibid, p. 557—561.

1610. tural impediments or obstacles, which rendered that valuable port insecure[d]. It soon acquired a decided superiority over Ostia, Gaieta, and Naples. Marshes were drained, cultivation was restored, and population augmented thro'out his territories. Florence might be justly accounted one of the most beautiful and splendid cities of Europe, enriched by monuments of art, ornamented by productions of skill, and affording an asylum to men of genius from every part of Italy[e]. In defiance of ignorance, prejudice, and persecution, Galileo had already demonstrated the truth of the Copernican system; had made discoveries of the utmost importance, in the revolutions of the planetary bodies; and had placed the foundations of astronomy, not on wild Hypotheses, but, upon practical experiments. Such was the ameliorated condition of Tuscany at the death of Ferdinand, when the accession of Cosmo the Second, his son and successor, took place.

Felicity of Tuscany.

1574—1585. Patrimony of the church.

The pontificate of Gregory the Thirteenth, tho' one of the longest that occurred during the course of the sixteenth century, is rendered chiefly memorable by the adoption of that regulation of time, which we denominate "the Gregorian Calendar." But, the attention of posterity has been more powerfully attracted towards the reign of Peretti, his successor in the chair of St. Peter, who assumed the name of Sixtus the Fifth. We can never contemplate with

[d] Galluzzi, vol. v. p. 67—75, and p. 537—539.
[e] Ibid, p. 539—574.

suf-

sufficient astonishment, the endowments of that extraordinary man; his profound dissimulation; his intrepid policy; his inflexible severity; and his towering ambition. Indignant at the political fetters imposed by Philip the Second on the Holy See, all his efforts were directed towards his own emancipation, and the humiliation of the Spanish monarchy. His admiration of the capacity and vigor displayed by Elizabeth, Queen of England, heightened by his apprehensions of the Spanish Armada, induced him secretly to give her support and assistance against their common enemy[f]. He manifested an equal attachment towards Henry the Fourth, while he displayed an aversion mixed with contempt, for the party of "the League[g]." It is not to be doubted, that he meditated the conquest or recovery of the kingdom of Naples from Philip, against whom he had determined to excite and publish a Cruzade; when death interrupting his projects, terminated his short, but memorable pontificate[h]. Enterprizes of such magnitude, danger, and variety, did not prevent him from adopting the most splendid, or beneficial regulations of a domestic nature; the embellishment of Rome, the formation of a marine, the extirpation of the Banditti who infested the ecclesiastical state; the introduction of corn for the subsistence of his subjects,

1585—1590. Reign and measures of Sixtus the Fifth.

Grandeur of his projects.

[f] Bruys, Hist. des Papes, vol. v. p. 56—60, and p. 63, and p. 66—75. Greg. Leti. Vie d'Eliz. ad ann. 1585, Leti, Hist. de Sixte, v. liv. vi. vii. and viii.

[g] Bruys, vol. v. p. 79, 80. Maimbourg, Hist. de la Ligue, liv. iv.

[h] Galluzzi, vol. v. p. 82—84. Bruys, vol. v. p. 81—86.

and

1585—1590. and the accumulation of prodigious treasures in the castle of St. Angelo[i]. A pontiff of such energy and resources, acting in combination with France, England, and Holland, against the Spanish monarchy, already convulsed and exhausted; might have greatly changed the political aspect of Europe, if his life had been further prolonged.

1591. Under the timid and transitory administration of Gregory the Fourteenth, the Holy See relapsed into its former servitude: nor did

1592—1605. Pontificate of Clement the Eighth. Clement the Eighth, by name Aldobrandini, a pontiff of far superior parts, dexterity, and address, venture to shake off the yoke of Spain, without adopting the greatest precautions, accompanied by the utmost management. He hesitated long, and exhausted every subterfuge or delay, before he dared to admit Henry the Fourth into the Romish communion[k]. The triumph of the pontifical character and office, in solemnly dispensing absolution to a suppliant king of France; became augmented in the person of Clement, by an accession of temporal power and dominions, which took place about

Conquest of Ferrara. the same time. The Duchy of Ferrara having devolved as a fief to the Apostolic See, on the decease of Alfonso the Second; after a feeble and ineffectual resistance made by Cæsar d'Esté, Duke of Modena, was incorporated into the patrimony of the church[l]. Clement,

[i] Bruys, vol. v. p. 53—56, and p. 87—90.
[k] Ibid, p. 94—119. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 53—58.
[l] Galluzzi, vol. v. p. 285—290. Bruys, vol. v. p. 120, 121.

elated

elated with a conquest so important and unexpected, already conceived himself the arbiter of Italy. Borghese, his successor, who assumed the name of Paul the Fifth, experienced nevertheless, how much the limits of that undefined supremacy, arrogated by the vicars of Christ during the middle ages, were restricted and diminished, when he engaged in a contest with Venice, soon after his accession. The same spiritual weapons, which in a darker period, had subverted the Imperial throne of Germany, and burst thro' all the bonds of civil or political society; were found ineffectual to vanquish the inflexibility of the Venetian Senate. Secure of the obedience and submission of their subjects, they despised the impotent thunders of the Vatican, and reduced the imprudent pontiff to sue for reconciliation[m]. He was more beneficially, as well as more honourably occupied, in adorning Rome, in constructing aqueducts for supplying the city with water, and in contributing to the decoration or embellishment of the antient capital of the world.

1605—1610.

Contest of Paul the Fifth with the Venetians.

When we appreciate the state of the spiritual authority possessed by the pretended successors of St. Peter, under Paul the Fifth, at the period under our examination; we shall perceive that it had rapidly declined since the elevation of Gregory the Thirteenth to the papal throne. The silent, but gradual progress of

1610. State of the pontifical power.

[m] Laugier Hist. de Venise, vol. x. liv. 39 and 40. Bruys, vol. v. p. 148—153.

reason;

1610. reason; the diffusion of letters among the inferior classes of society, and the effect of the Reformation; — these causes insensibly undermined a fabrick, which mankind had long been accustomed to regard with veneration approaching to idolatry. The recent defeat of the Holy See in the attempt to give laws to Venice, had instructed other catholic states, that they might resist with effect the tyranny of the Popes. If however, the pontifical power was diminished, the revenues arising from that source, continued still very abundant. Annates, tenths, indulgencies, dispensations, jubilees, and many other inventions of ingenious avidity, contributed to replenish the papal exchequer. Considered as temporal princes, they had received a considerable addition of territory, by the reduction or annexation of the duchy of Ferrara. It is not without wonder that we can reflect on the degree of active support given by France, to the enterprize of Clement the Eighth, for confiscating or appropriating so important a portion of Lombardy. The indifference of Spain, as well as the supine inactivity of Venice and Tuscany under the same circumstances, excite no less surprize[n]. Nor does it form one of the least remarkable features which distinguish the period, that during the course of the sixteenth century, when the severest attacks were made by Luther and Calvin on the office of the Romish Pontiffs; their temporal power proceeded

Revenues derived from it.

Augmentation of territory.

[n] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 110—112.

with

with the most rapid progress, and established itself in Italy on solid territorial foundations. 1610.

How ample were the aggregate revenues of the papal see, we may infer, when we find that Sixtus the Fifth, during a reign comprehending only five years, and notwithstanding the immense sums expended by him in beautifying Rome, yet amassed before his death, two millions, five hundred thousand crowns. We cannot estimate the sum at less than three hundred thousand pounds Sterling[o]. This treasure was quickly dissipated by Gregory the Fourteenth, in supporting the party of "the League[p]." Clement the Eighth, in order to effect the conquest of Ferrara, did not hesitate to alienate the revenues of the church to such a degree, that in the year 1598, scarcely five thousand pounds, free of all deduction, entered the papal exchequer. Even the spiritual resources of the Holy See were scandalously exposed to sale, by the family of Aldobrandini[q]. But, under Paul the Fifth, these temporary embarassments of finance were surmounted. Great military levies continued to be made by almost all the Popes, from Gregory the Thirteenth, down to Paul the Fifth. In 1591, Gregory the Fourteenth, sent an army of twelve thousand men, into France. His successor, Clement the Eighth even doubled the number, when he declared war on Cæsar d'Estè, who Treasures. Forces.

[o] Bruys, vol v. p. 89.
[p] Ibid. vol. v. p. 97. 98. Perefixe, Hist. d'Hen. IV. p. 185.
[q] Galluzzi, vol. v. p. 310.

laid

1610. laid claim to the duchy of Ferrara[r]. Clement
Gallies. had twenty-four thousand soldiers in the field. Sixtus equipped nine gallies, fortified the port of Civita Vecchia, and seemed to emulate, if not to attempt, the formation of a marine[s]. Yet, in 1606, Paul the Fifth was so terrified at the expected rupture with the Venetians, and so unable to protect his coasts against their fleets, that he caused the treasure deposited at Loretto, on the shore of the Adriatic, to be precipitately removed to a place of greater security.[t]

Trade. Some degree of protection was extended to commerce by the Popes; and Clement the Eighth, in 1593, issued a declaration, containing numerous privileges or exemptions, enacted in favor of the trade of Ancona[u]. Yet notwithstanding these regulations, the patrimony of the church was worse administered than any
Banditti. European state. Troops of Banditti, who overran the open country, defied justice; while they committed every enormity or outrage, under the feeble government of an aged, infirm, and elective ecclesiastic, who beheld them with apathy or indifference. Rome itself was not secure from their violence. We can hardly believe that in 1583, under the reign of Gregory the Thirteenth, to so incredible a point of impunity, or rather of open protection, had these bands of murderers and assassins attained, that Cardinal Farnese was constantly accompanied by twenty

[r] Bruys, vol. v p. 97. Galluzzi, vol. v. p. 291.
[s] Bruys, vol. v. p. 84. [t] Laugier, vol. x. p. 421.
[u] Galluzzi, vol. v. p. 538

of

of them on horseback, whenever he appeared in the streets of Rome. Buon Compagno, nephew to Gregory the Thirteenth, was not ashamed to entrust his person to the guard of another body of the same desperate ruffians [x]. Sixtus the Fifth, by his wholesome severity, soon extirpated them, and rendered intercourse of every kind, safe as well as easy, thro'out the papal dominions; but the evil revived under his successors [y]. It must however be admitted, that the Popes of this period, almost without exception, were munificent patrons of the fine arts: if we except Venice or Florence, no city in Europe could boast so magnificent an assemblage of the monuments of taste and genius, as Rome.

1610. Their outrages and enormities.

Protection of the arts.

The kingdom of Naples, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, continued still to groan under the Spanish government; a tyranny at once the most odious, impolitic, and oppressive, with the single exception of Bonaparte's sanguinary system of despotism, which has ever been exercised for the destruction or degradation of mankind. We may question whether the restless ambition of Philip the Second, or the indolent incapacity of Philip the Third, became productive of the greatest misfortune to the Neapolitans. Successive viceroys, deputed by those monarchs, seemed to agree only in one common principle; a desire of plundering the unfortunate people,

1574—1610. Naples. Tyranny of the Spanish government.

[x] Galluzzi, vol. iv. p. 186—189, and p. 231, 233, and p. 258—261.

[y] Bruys, vol. v. p. 53, 54. Leti. Vie de Sixte V., liv. vi.

1574—1610. and transmitting the spoils thus collected, to Madrid. Imposts became multiplied to such a point on every article of consumption, that even fruit formed an object of taxation [z]. Attempts were made to compel the inferior inhabitants of the capital, to eat bread composed of noxious or unpalatable herbs mixed with corn, in order to draw from that expedient, a revenue: but the experiment was soon abandoned as too dangerous, apprehensions being entertained, that accustomed as the populace had become to slavery, they might nevertheless break their fetters, if rendered too galling by the Spaniards. [a]

Sums, extorted from the Neapolitans.

We are covered with astonishment, on contemplating the magnitude of the sums extorted from the country, all which were engulphed in the Escurial. In the space of nine years, between 1586 and 1595, when Naples was administered by the Count de Miranda, he exacted and received from the inhabitants, no less than six millions of Ducats, which cannot be estimated below two millions, seven hundred thousand pounds Sterling [b]. Notwithstanding these heavy pecuniary contributions, Naples was compelled to aid the ambitious or vindictive projects of Philip the Second, by naval and military levies or equipments. Four Neapolitan Galeasses, constructed in the royal arsenal of that capital, were sent to join the Armada destined in 1588, for the subjection of England [c].

[z] Giannoné, Hist. de Naples, vol. iv. liv. xxxv. chap. ii. p. 415.
[a] Ibid. vol iv. liv. xxxiv. chap. ii. p. 348.
[b] Ibid. chap. v. p. 374. [c] Ibid. p. 373.

A few

A few years afterwards, above four thousand troops marched to defend the duchy of Savoy, then attacked by the French. The kingdom, equally impoverished and exhausted by efforts so much exceeding its strength, sunk into a state of languor, or rather of debility. 1574—1610. Troops, and Gallies.

Every evil which necessarily results from a weak, as well as an incapable government, aggravated the sufferings of that enslaved and devoted country. Such were the immunities or exemptions enjoyed by the ecclesiastical order, as to impede, if not wholly to prevent the course of justice; and so numerous were the sanctuaries or asylums to which criminals could repair, that impunity and even encouragement were held out to the commission of every enormity. We can with difficulty conceive the extent and pernicious consequences of this abuse, among a bigotted and superstitious people[d]. The immense and perpetually augmenting possessions of the clergy, secular and regular, had already swallowed up a vast proportion of the lands or property of the kingdom, before the close of Philip the Second's reign[e]. No effectual restraint was imposed by the crown, on this practice. The current coin became so debased, as not only materially to affect, but almost to suspend all commercial transactions of every kind. Tho' an insurrection was dreaded, the viceroys found themselves necessitated Abuses. Asylums. Debasement of the coin.

[d] Giannoné, Hist. de Naples, vol. iv. liv. xxxv. chap. ii. p. 416—420.

[e] Ibid. vol. iv. liv. xxxiv. chap. ix. p. 402—405.

1574—1610. to perpetuate a grievance, which they could neither check nor redress[f]. As in the ecclesiastical territory, so in the Neapolitan dominions, companies of robbers, conducted by leaders of high rank, bade defiance to the laws. During near seven years, from 1585 to 1592, so tremendous were their numbers, as to employ the whole military force of the country, in their suppression. Even when quelled, they were not extirpated; and they continued to desolate in particular the mountainous province of the Abruzzo, the Brutium of antiquity, and the duchy of Calabria. It conveys a lamentable idea of the interior state of the kingdom, and the impotence of the government, when we learn from Giannoné, that these formidable Banditti, after plundering the open country, ventured to attack the towns and cities which refused them contributions[g]. Society could scarcely subsist in a state of civilization, under such multiplied calamities.

Banditti.

Invasions. To internal anarchy or oppression, was added foreign invasion. The Ottoman troops, commanded by Amurath Rais, and by the Bashaw Cicala, repeatedly landing on different parts of the Calabrian or Sicilian coasts, renewed the ravages antiently committed by Barbarossa, Uluzziali, and the Admirals of Solyman the Second[h]. Even the human mind became de-

[f] Giannoné, vol. iv. liv. xxxv. chap. ii. p. 415, 416.

[g] Ibid. vol. iv. liv. xxxiv. chap. v. p. 370—374; and liv. xxxv. chap. ii. p. 416.

[h] Ibid. vol. iv. liv. xxxiv. chap. v. p. 374, and p. 411, and p. 413.

based and degraded under the Spanish tyranny. Neither the fine arts, nor the sciences, were regarded among a people, whose genius was depressed, and whose emulation was lost. Poetry alone survived in some measure, amidst the general extinction of taste and learning[i]. Of all the religious orders, only the Jesuits distinguished themselves by the study and cultivation of polite letters[k]. No general or well conducted effort was made by the Neapolitans, to shake off a yoke so ignominious, during the period which we are reviewing; and this apathy may be considered as the strongest proof how low had sunk the national spirit. A conspiracy was, it is true, framed by Campanella, a visionary Dominican monk of the town of Stilo in Calabria, soon after the accession of Philip the Third. But, its object seems to have been not so much to restore the Neapolitans to freedom and independance, under a prince placed on the throne by their own suffrages; as to establish a wild and chimerical republic, such as France beheld between 1792 and 1799. The attempt being discovered, was suppressed[l]. Such had become the wretched and exhausted state of this beautiful part of Europe, at the time of Henry the Fourth's assassination, when the Count de Lemos, known to posterity by the writings of Cervantes, was sent from Madrid, to take on him the supreme civil administration of Naples.

1574—1610. Depression of the human mind.

Conspiracy of Campanella.

[i] Giannoné, vol. iv. liv. xxxiv. chap. viii. p. 395—399.
[k] Ibid. chap. vii. p. 384.
[l] Ibid. vol. iv. liv xxxv. chap. i. p. 407—413.

1574—1610. Genoa: The minor states and principalities of Italy, destitute of weight or consideration in the European system, merit little attention. Genoa, tho', like Venice, declined from her antient splendor, yet continued to enjoy profound repose under the protection of the Spanish monarchy; but its annals during this period, contain no events deserving attention or commemoration. Altho' dependant on the cabinet of Madrid, their partiality towards the French nation and government was nevertheless so well understood, as to induce Lomellino, one of their principal citizens, wittily to remark, that "the "Genoese had their purse in Spain, and their "heart in France[m]." Ferrara, once so conspicuous, the Athens of the north of Italy, had totally disappeared; having been swallowed up before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, in the territories of the church. The capital, which under the princes of the family of Esté, had been accounted one of the most beautiful, as well as populous cities of Lombardy; become classic ground by the residence of Ariosto and Tasso within its walls; soon dwindled, after its reduction by Clement the Eighth, into a solitary and deserted town. When Cardinal Aldobrandini, in 1598, having taken possession of Ferrara, as Legate of the Holy See, caused the inhabitants to be numbered; he found the place already so depopulated, that it only contained about fifteen thousand souls, of whom

Its dependance on Spain.

Ferrara:

Its reduction to the Holy See,

and decline.

[m] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 339—342. L'Art. de Verif. les Dates, tome iii. p. 739. Galluzzi, vol. v. p. 310.

near

near a third part were Jews[n]. The duchy of Modena, being an imperial, and not a papal fief, still continued to be governed by a prince of the house of Esté[o]. The family of Gonzaga reigned at Mantua. After the death of the celebrated Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, who expired at Arras; whose whole life was passed in the military service of Philip the Second, on the great theatre of the Low Countries; his son Rainuce succeeded him as Duke of Parma and Placentia. But, those little principalities could only be considered as dependancies of the vast Spanish monarchy.[p] 1574—1610. Modena. Mantua. Parma.

It is not in the internal history of Switzerland, during the period under our contemplation, that any transactions can be found of an interesting nature. France and Spain persisted to vie with each other, for the friendship and alliance of the Helvetic confederacy. The court of Madrid profiting of the troubles which agitated the French monarchy for so long a time, under the last princes of the family of Valois, negotiated with success among the smaller and more bigotted Cantons; whose poverty, aided by their superstitious adherence to the Catholic faith, laid them open to political seduction. Induced by misrepresentations, and gained by presents, they renounced their antient connexions with the French crown, and entered into a stipendiary treaty with the Duke of Lerma. But, after the peace of Vervins in 1574—1602. Switzerland. Competition of France, and Spain.

[n] Galluzzi, vol. v. p. 292.
[o] L'Art de Verif. tome iii. p. 700, 701. [p] Ibid. p. 659.

1574—1602. 1598, when Henry the Fourth became firmly established on the throne, he found means to supplant his rivals; and to cement by closer ties, the former compact subsisting between his predecessors and the Swiss Republic [q]. Baffled in this attempt to gain exclusive possession of the thirteen Cantons, the Count de Fuentés, Governor of Milan for Philip the Third, one of the most active commanders, and enterprizing ministers of the period, conceived a plan equally bold as it was solid, for extending the Spanish power in Italy.

1603—1610. Enterprize of Fuentés.

The Milaneze is only separated on the north, from the County of Tyrol, by a mountainous portion of the Grison country, situate among the Alps, denominated the Valteline. The inhabitants of this sequestered valley, zealously attached to the Romish religion, corrupted by the largesses of Fuentés, and averse to the dominion of the Grison Republic, under which they lived; were easily induced to lend an indirect assistance to his projects. Favored by such propitious circumstances, he instantly began the construction of a fort, not far from the northern extremity of the Lake of Como, but erected on the territory of Spain. Its position on the summit of a craggy rock, commanding the entrance into the Valteline, and the valley of Chiavenna, rendered him virtually master of the only passages by which assistance could be sent, or protection extended, to the Grison League. Neither the

Valteline.

[q] Mezeray, vol. x. p. 299—231. Plantin. Hist. de la Suisse, p. 364—368.

Switzers,

Switzers, the Venetians, nor the French, tho' all these states were deeply interested in counteracting so dangerous and ambitious a project, made any effectual or vigorous efforts to impede its execution. The fortress being once completed, the Grisons beheld themselves reduced to a species of servitude. It must be owned that Lombardy itself was ultimately menaced with a similar fate, if the Valteline had been thus permanently subjected to Philip the Third; since that acquisition, connecting the territorial possessions of the two branches of the Austrian family, enabled them reciprocally to co-operate in every manner, for their common objects and interests. From the frontiers of Piedmont and Switzerland, to the distant borders of Poland and Hungary, a communication thro' the centre of the Alps would have been firmly established, between the Imperial and Spanish divisions of that house. We are lost in contemplating the possible effects of such a measure; from which, not only Germany and Italy, but even Europe itself might have undergone a great eventual revolution.[r]

1603—1610.

Object of Fuentés's views.

While Fuentés, impelled rather by the vigor of his own character, than stimulated or supported by the cabinet of Madrid, endeavoured thus to augment the political power of Spain; the Imperial dignity in the unskilful hands of Rodolph the Second, was sunk into a state of

1574—1610.

Condition of the House of Austria.

[r] Plantin, p. 371—376. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 324—326. Desormeaux, Hist. d'Espagne, vol. iv. p. 211—212. Hist. Chron. d'Esp. vol. ii. p. 462.

con-

1574—1610. Reign and character of Rodolph the Second.

contumely, and almost of oblivion. During a long reign of more than five and thirty years, that prince betrayed an insurmountable inaptitude, either for the transactions of the cabinet, or for the operations of the field. Whether we consider him as chief of the Austrian family, as King of Hungary and Bohemia, or as Emperor of Germany, he appears equally deficient in all the qualities demanded from his station. Unlike his two immediate predecessors, Ferdinand the First, and Maximilian the Second, he abandoned Vienna; which city, from its central situation on the Danube, and its vicinity to the Hungarian frontier, seemed to be pointed out by policy as the proper residence and capital of the Austrian princes. Retiring to Prague, he there immured himself on the banks of the Moldaw, among alchymists, philosophers, and astrologers; inaccessible to his people, negligent of public affairs, and occupied only in pursuits of a recluse, or literary kind.[s]

State of Hungary.

In Hungary, the command of the armies opposed to the Turks, was successively entrusted by him to the Archdukes Mathias and Maximilian, his brothers; or to various foreign generals, who repaired from Italy, France, and Flanders, to solicit a post of such glory, peril, and eminence. The Ottoman arms, tho' become less formidable than they had been under the reign of Solyman the Second, yet continued rather to advance towards, than to recede from,

[s] Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. ii. p. 218—220.

the

the confines of Germany. Raab or Javarin, a city which by its position, not very remote from Vienna, opened to the Mahometans the whole frontier of Lower Austria; and which the campaign of 1809, when it fell into the hands of Bonaparte, has rendered too celebrated in our own times; was taken by the Bashaw Sinan, before the death of Amurath the Third. Two years afterwards, Mahomet his successor, rendered himself master of the town of Agria, situate on the other side of the Danube. These advantages were nevertheless subsequently balanced by the recapture of Raab, by the successful siege of Strigonium or Gran, another very important fortress of Upper Hungary, and by various acquisitions or victories gained over the Turks. After thirteen campaigns, Rodolph esteemed himself fortunate in obtaining from the new Sultan Achmet, a truce, which leaving to either party the dominions or places previously possessed by each, procured at least for the Hungarians a temporary suspension of hostilities. [t]

1574—1610.

Truce made with the Turks.

In all the great transactions of Germany, civil and religious, the Emperor remained either passive; or his exertions, weak, desultory, and ineffectual, produced no beneficial result. The review of his whole reign, which confirms this assertion, proves that he retained little more than the nominal supremacy of the German empire. When Truchses, Archbishop and

Inactivity of Rodolph.

[t] La Croix, Hist. Ottom. vol. i. p. 674—682, and vol. ii. p. 2—110. Heiss, vol. i. p. 428—435. Schmidt, vol. viii. ch. viii. and x. Sacy. Hist. d'Hongrie, vol. ii. p. 99—164.

Elector

1574—1610. Elector of Cologne, in 1583, ventured publickly to marry Agnes of Mansfeldt, a nun; to renounce the Catholic religion, and to embrace the profession of Calvinism; he was neither terrified at the displeasure, nor affected by the menaces of Rodolph. That prince continued inactive, till the efforts of the Chapter of Cologne, sustained by the arms of Ernest of Bavaria, who was elected to fill the vacant archbishoprick, expelled the apostate elector, and terminated a quarrel so important to the general tranquillity of Germany [u]. During the course of various commotions, disputes, and insurrections, which, in different periods broke out at Aix la Chapelle, at Strasburg, and at Donawert; the Imperial interference for their suppression was scarcely felt, nor were the determinations of the Aulic Council, the supreme tribunal of Germany, regarded by any party.

Affair of Truchses,

and of Cleves.

On the decease of John William, Duke of Cleves and Juliers, in 1609, the indolent Rodolph made indeed an attempt to surmount his habitual apathy, by assuming an active part in the great question of the right to that rich succession. He even evoked the cause personally before himself, enjoining in the meantime his cousin, the Archduke Leopold, to sequester by force, if necessary, the territories in litigation. But, in this single instance of vigor, his authority to interfere was contested; and the various princes who laid claim to the domi-

[u] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 464—479. Heiss. vol. i. p. 426, 427. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 229—233.

nions

nions of Cleves, far from respecting the quality or rank of the Imperial commissioner, did not hesitate to attack and to expel the Archduke by force from Juliers. Rodolph could only be considered as a spectator of the contest [x]. 1574—1610.

Factions in the German Empire.

Towards the close of his life, the two great parties of the Catholics and the Protestants, irritated by a long series of alternate injuries, and unrestrained by any apprehensions from his resentment, drew up in formidable array, under their respective banners. Assuming the denominations of the "Catholic League," and the "Evangelic Union," they elected leaders, and prepared to terminate their quarrel by an appeal to the sword. Hostilities, it was evident, were ready to ensue; and if the tragical death of Henry the Fourth had not delayed them, Germany would unquestionably at that time have been made the theatre of war. All the materials of the conflagration which laid it waste during thirty years, and which burst out soon afterwards under the reign of Mathias, were suffered to accumulate by the supine inactivity of his predecessor. [y]

Dissentions in the Austrian family.

If the German empire was thus abandoned by its chief, to anarchy and dissention, the Austrian family itself seemed to be not less rent by domestic feuds. Indignant at the apathy and weakness of his brother, who, shut up in the apartments of his palace at Prague, beheld with

[x] Heiss, vol. i. p. 439—445. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 244—251. Mezeray, vol. x. p. 413—419.

[y] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 252—255. Heiss ut supra.

uncon-

1574—1610. unconcern the calamities of his other hereditary kingdoms and provinces; Mathias at length threw off all subjection. The Austrians and Hungarians supporting his views, weary of so inactive a sovereign, and desirous of obtaining a real protector, elevated Mathias to the supreme authority. Rodolph was reluctantly compelled to ratify their choice, and to cede to his rival the kingdom of Hungary, together with the provinces of Upper and Lower Austria[z]. Roused nevertheless from his lethargy by this attack, and apprehensive of experiencing further encroachments from the same quarter, the Emperor meditated revenge. He was stimulated to it by the cabinet of Madrid, which had never forgotten or pardoned the interference of Mathias at an early period of his life, when he accepted from the revolted Flemings, the government of the Spanish Netherlands. Rodolph, in concert with the ministers of Philip the Third, already projected to elevate to the throne of Bohemia, and to the title of King of the Romans, an Archduke of the Styrian line; one of the sons of Charles, Duke of Styria, descended from Ferdinand the First. But, all the schemes of the confederate princes, which tended only to weaken their common interests, by dividing the Austrian family, were overturned in consequence of the vigorous interference of Mathias. Entering Bohemia at the head of an army, he soon re-

Ambition of Mathias.

[z] Sacy, Hist. d'Hongrie, vol. ii. p. 166—168.

duced

duced Rodolph to resign to him that crown, contenting himself for the remainder of his life, with the empty honors annexed to the dignity of emperor. Death speedily closed his inglorious reign, during which, the Imperial title and office had fallen into a condition, if possible more abject, as well as more despised, than it had been under Frederic the Third, in the fifteenth century.[a] 1574—1610. Resignation of Bohemia by Rodolph.

Notwithstanding the circumstances here enumerated, which under a prince of Rodolph's character, tended to obscure the greatness of the house of Austria; yet its power, revenues, and resources at the beginning of the seventeenth century, were all considerable, if they had been united in the person of an active or ambitious chief. Germany experienced only a few years afterwards, on the accession of Ferdinand the Second, who re-assembled the scattered possessions of his family, how vast was their collective weight; and how easily, from being merely the limited head, he might render himself the tyrant and despot of the empire. The Imperial sceptre, weak in itself, became an instrument of terror or of oppression, when it was entrusted to a sovereign, whose dominions extended from the frontiers of Saxony and Poland, across all the intermediate countries, to the confines of Italy. Tho' that sceptre seemed to be continually on the point of pass- 1610. State of the Austrian power and family. Imperial dignity.

[a] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 245 and p. 247, and p. 252, 253, and p. 255. Heiss, vol. i. p. 435—438, and p. 445—447.

ing

1610. ing into other hands, on the decease of every successive possessor; yet various events, aided by present occupation, conduced to perpetuate it in the Austrian Dynasty. The tragical death of Henry the Fourth, which took place at the moment when he was preparing to march towards Cleves; extricated Rodolph, in common with the other princes of his line, from a danger equally imminent and insuperable.

Hungary. In Hungary, the Turkish armies, whatever apprehensions they might still excite, no longer inspired the terror which had preceded them in the sixteenth century. Europe began to perceive that the Ottoman empire having passed its Zenith, the Sultans, tho' they might desolate the German frontiers by sudden incursions, could not permanently extend their conquests beyond the actual boundaries of their dominions. The provinces of Carniola, Styria, Austria, and Moravia, were moreover covered by fortresses so numerous and well provided, as almost to defy the Mahometan armies[b]. Previous to the rupture which took place with Amurath the Third in 1593, a body of twenty thousand soldiers, properly armed and disciplined, was believed to be capable of sustaining and repelling the utmost efforts of the Janizaries, in the opinions of the greatest judges of the military art[c]. In order to obtain the most decisive advantages over the Turks, it seemed only necessary to abandon the antient system of dismissing the

Decline of the Turkish power.

[b] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 449. [c] Ibid. p. 448.

troops

troops at the close of every campaign, and to retain them permanently under the standard. [d] 1610.

The prerogatives, enjoyed and exercised by Rodolph, thro'out his hereditary possessions of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, were very limited. The consent of the States being requisite for levying every sort of pecuniary burthen imposed on the people, their jealousy rendered them slow, as well as reluctant to grant supplies, even on the greatest emergencies [e]. But, in addition to the revenues of his patrimonial dominions, he occasionally received very important aids from the Diets convoked during the war carried on against the Turks. The aggregate sum which was accorded to the Emperor, for the sole purpose of repelling the Ottoman invasion, by the Diet which met at Ratisbon in 1597, did not fall short of four millions, five hundred thousand Florins. We may estimate it at near four hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling; but the money could only be raised by regular assessments, payable into the imperial coffers in the course of three years [f]. If we would contemplate Rodolph the Second in the most favorable point of view, we must neither consider him as chief of the German empire, nor as King of Hungary and Bohemia, nor as the Archduke of Austria. We should only regard him in his personal capacity, as a philosopher, as a lover of science, and a patron

Limited prerogatives of Rodolph.

Aids of money granted him.

His protection of letters.

[d] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 510, 511. [e] Ibid. p. 448.
[f] Ibid. p. 513—515.

1610. of letters. His court and palace, like those of Lorenzo de Medicis at Florence, constituted the asylums of persecuted genius, and expatriated talents. Tycho Brahé, driven from Denmark, found protection in his bounty, and died at Prague. Kepler, a man not less illustrious, composed by his orders, the celebrated astronomical calculations, denominated the "Rodolphine Tables[g]." But, these occupations, however laudable or meritorious in themselves, could not supply the want of energy, vigor, and political talents. Even his philanthrophy, humanity, and moderation, like the virtues of the unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth, became contemptible, because unsustained by courage and activity. Rodolph, successively deprived of his dominions, revenues, and titles, by his own brother; precisely as the Emperor Winceslaus had been treated by his brother Sigismund, about two hundred years before; saw himself gradually reduced to the condition of an individual: while the house of Austria emerging from the state of depression in which it had been plunged since the abdication of Charles the Fifth, more than half a century earlier, prepared again to act a conspicuous part on the theatre of Germany and of Europe.

1574—1610. Germanic empire.

The Germanic empire and constitution, in its leading features, continued to retain nearly the same aspect at the conclusion, as it had

[g] Heiss, vol. i. p. 447. Voltaire, vol. x. p. 316, 317. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 73—75. Biog. Dict. vol. viii. p. 1, 2.

presented at the commencement of Rodolph's reign. The seven Electorates, of which four were secular, and three ecclesiastical, remained unaugmented in number. Among the secular Electors, those of Saxony might still be considered as first in political pre-eminence and power. How ample were their revenues, and how vast their pecuniary resources, we may judge, when we find that Augustus the First, who died in 1586, a wise and beneficent prince, left in his coffers no less a sum than seventeen millions of Ecus, or above two millions Sterling[h]. Even if we should suppose this fact to be exaggerated, it nevertheless proves the opulent state of the Saxon dominions and people; which country, without oppression, could furnish such prodigious treasures to the sovereign. Soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Electors of Brandenburgh had already laid the foundation of that political elevation which we have seen them attain in the last and present age, till overwhelmed in 1806, by Bonaparte: a depression from which they have triumphantly emerged in 1814. As early as 1605, Joachim Frederic obtained the immediate administration of the duchy of Prussia; while he at the same time secured his future succession to that extensive territory, after the demise of Albert Frederic, the reigning Duke, who during many years labored under incurable

1574—1610.

Electorates.

Saxony.

Revenues.

Brandenburg.

Its progressive elevation.

[h] L'Art de Verif les Dates, tome iii. p. 417.

1574—1610. alienation of mind[i]. On the extinction of the Dukes of Cleves, four years later, in 1609, John Sigismund, son and successor of Joachim Frederic, laid claim to a part of the vacant dominions, in right of his consort. Notwithstanding the reclamations of the Elector of Saxony, together with the mandates issued by the Emperor himself; John Sigismund seized and retained by a subsequent agreement, the duchy of Cleves, comprizing the dependant Counties of La Mark and Ravensperg[k]. So considerable an augmentation of territories, situate in a beautiful part of Germany, along the banks of the Lower Rhine, contiguous to the dominions of the seven united provinces of Holland; when added to so great a reversion in expectation, as the duchy of Prussia; soon rendered him beyond comparison, the most formidable of all the German princes.

Palatinate. The Electors Palatine continued to preserve nearly the same place and rank in the system of the empire, which they had held thro'out the course of the sixteenth century. No European continental state had undergone so many, or so rapid revolutions in religion, as the Palatinate. During the short space of sixty years, the country, which had been originally Catholic, twice became Lutheran, and as often reverted to Calvinism, which latter profession of faith

Changes of religion.

[i] L'Art de Verif, tome iii. p. 530. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 268.
[k] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 247—249. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 277.

remained

remained finally predominant[l]. England had indeed exhibited an example of still greater versatility or submission in matters of religious belief; having in the short space of twelve years, between Henry the Eighth's death in 1547, and Elizabeth's accession in 1558, changed its national creed, four different times. Frederic the Fourth, Elector Palatine, was declared chief of the "Evangelic Union," formed by the Protestants in 1610, for the protection of their civil and religious liberties[m]. But, having survived his election to that high post, only a few months, he was succeeded by his son Frederic the Fifth, who married the daughter of James the First; whose subsequent misfortunes form an interesting part of the modern history of Germany; and whose imprudent attempt in 1619, to ascend the throne of Bohemia, involved himself, his family, and people, in almost irretrievable ruin. 1574—1610.

The Dukes of Bavaria, collaterally descended from the Counts Palatine of the Rhine; from the extent of their territorial possessions, lying along the banks of the Danube, the Inn, and the Iser, sustained by the magnitude of their revenues; might be accounted equal in political power to the Electors, though they had not yet been raised to a place in the Electoral College. It was reserved for the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, soon afterwards, to elevate Bavaria.

[l] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 435.
[m] L'Art de Verif, tome iii. p. 327.

1574—1610. Character of Maximilian.

them on the destruction of the Palatine branch of their family, to that dignity. Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, who sprung from the same common ancestor with Frederic the Fifth, Elector Palatine, was justly regarded as one of the most illustrious princes of the age. His talents, courage, and great endowments of every kind, when added to his zealous adherence to the Romish religion, induced the Catholics to place him at the head of the "League," formed in opposition to the Protestant "Union[a]." He acted a most distinguished part in the long wars which commenced under Mathias; his inflexible adherence to the house of Austria, conducing in an eminent degree to preserve the Imperial sceptre, as well as the crown of Bohemia, in that august line, amidst all the convulsions by which Europe was agitated.

Cleves.

Extinction of the Dukes of Cleves.

The most important change which had taken place in the internal fabrick of the empire, between the middle of the sixteenth, and the commencement of the ensuing century, was the extinction of the Dukes of Cleves. Their dominions, extending from the frontiers of Holland, along the eastern bank of the Rhine, quite to those of the Palatinate; becoming divided in nearly equal proportions between the Electors of Brandenburg, and the Dukes of Neubourg, a branch of the Electors Palatine; materially altered and affected the balance of power in Germany. It began already to be evident that

[a] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 250. L'Art de Verif, tome iii. p. 407.

the

the Margraves of Brandenburgh, from their great accession of territory, must become the preponderant members of the Germanic system. Thro'out the duchies of Mecklenburg, Brunswic, and Wirtemberg, as well as in the Landgraviate of Hesse, scarcely any great or interesting political transactions had taken place during the reign of Rodolph. The lesser principalities could not be accounted of any weight in the scale of Europe, and the Hanseatic League was far advanced in its decline. That vast maritime confederation, which for centuries had almost monopolized the Baltic trade; gradually undermined by the competition of other nations, attacked by the English, and rivalled by the Dutch; experienced the instability of human affairs. "The Hanseatic League" continued indeed to exist; but never could recover its antient lustre[o]. Germany itself might still be considered as a country scarcely emerged from barbarism; whose inhabitants remained rude, illiterate, and uncultivated. Whatever progress the sciences had made at Prague; or whatever degree of refinement was displayed in the courts of Dresden, Berlin, Heidelberg, and Munich; the inferior classes continued every where to be sunk in ignorance. It was not till after the termination of "the war of thirty years," followed by the repose which the treaties of Westphalia produced in 1648, that the Germans began in

1574—1610.

Hanseatic League.

General state of Germany.

[o] Mallet, Hist. de Dan. vol. vii. p. 176—178.

1574—1610. any degree to emulate an equality with the more polished European nations, in every branch of polite literature. [p]

1574—1588. Denmark. Denmark, during many years subsequent to the treaty of Stettin, which restored tranquillity to the Scandinavian states; continued to enjoy uninterrupted prosperity, under the mild and beneficent administration of Frederic the Second. That prince was snatched away by a premature death, while yet in the vigor of his age and talents; leaving behind him a son, Christian the Fourth, who had not passed the limits of childhood. Nevertheless, contrary to the usual experience of mankind, the public felicity of Denmark was neither disturbed by the internal dissentions, nor invaded by the external calamities, which commonly characterize in every country, a period of minority. The Senate, arrogating the functions of regency, as having devolved on them by Frederic's decease; and exercising them, to the equal exclusion of the Queen-dowager, and of the princes of the blood; maintained the kingdom in repose [q]. As the young sovereign approached to manhood, he gave numerous indications of the capacity, courage, and activity, which he afterwards displayed; qualities which have raised him to the most elevated place among the Kings of Denmark. Actuated by a thirst for knowledge, and superior to the puerile amuse-

Its tranquillity.

1588—1599. Accession and character of Christian the Fourth.

[p] Voltaire, vol. x. p. 317.
[q] Mallet, Hist. de Dan. vol. vii. p. 132—160.

ments

ments or gratifications usually characteristic of youth; he manifested higher inclinations, by visiting Tycho Brahé in his philosophical retreat on the little island of Veen, situate between the coast of Zealand and the shore of Sweden. That extraordinary man, encouraged by the munificence of Frederic the Second, had there founded a species of astronomical colony, denominated Uranibourg; an establishment, to which scarcely any parallel can be found in antiquity, or among the nations of modern Europe.[r] 1588—1599. He visits Tycho Brahé,

Impelled by a curiosity not less laudable, but still more beneficial to his people; Christian, after inspecting his dominions thro'out Holstein and Norway, undertook to penetrate into Lapland, with the view of surveying in person the inhospitable regions subject to the Danish crown, lying in the vicinity of the pole. In order to derive from the enterprize all those advantages with which it was fraught, he had the magnanimity, like Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, near a century later, to renounce his dignity, and to divest himself of his titles. Under the simple appellation of a captain, accompanied by a naval force, he coasted the desolate shore which extends round to the North Cape, and even advanced to the entrance of the White Sea, on the confines of Muscovite Lapland. Christian, if not the only sovereign on record, who has ever passed and Lapland.

[r] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 144, 145, and p. 178, 179.

the

1588—1599. Vigor of his measures.

the Arctic circle, stands at least first on the list, and led the way [s]. His indefatigable industry pervaded every department of state; and while he constructed arsenals for the protection of Copenhagen, he endeavoured to diffuse the benefits of commerce among his subjects, as well as to ameliorate the condition of the inferior orders of the people. [t]

1600—1610.

In the domestic dissentions of the royal family of Vasa, which agitated Sweden after the death of John the Third, he wisely forbore to take any part; remaining a passive spectator of the revolution which transferred the Swedish Sceptre from Sigismund, to his uncle, Charles, Duke of Sudermania: a revolution which has been repeated in our own time, when the Swedes having dethroned Gustavus the Fourth, placed the crown on the head of his uncle, another Duke of Sudermania, of the same name.

War with Sweden.

But, when Charles the Ninth, thus become sovereign of Sweden, by the deposition of his nephew, attempted soon after his accession, to invade the portion of Lapland subject to Denmark, Christian had recourse immediately to arms. In the progress of the short, but fierce and sanguinary contest, which took place between the two crowns, he displayed not only personal intrepidity and talents for the field: he rendered himself master of Calmar and of Elfsburg, the two keys of Sweden on the east and west; captured the maritime city of Got-

[s] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 215, 216. [t] Ibid. p. 230—232.

tenburg,

tenburg, then newly founded; and after the decease of Charles the Ninth, concluded an advantageous peace with his son and successor, Gustavus Adolphus. That prince, who makes so conspicuous a figure in the history of the seventeenth century, when he overran Germany; still a minor, hardly confirmed upon the Swedish throne, menaced with competitors at home, and compelled to direct his foreign views towards Poland as well as Muscovy; gladly seized the occasion of terminating a ruinous war, by making some concessions. A treaty was concluded under the mediation of England, which again disarmed the Baltic powers; and which peace proved not less beneficial to Denmark, than it had become indispensably necessary to Sweden.[u]

1600—1610.

Conclusion of peace.

The Danish constitution of government, under Christian the Fourth, while it invariably respected the rights of hereditary descent, and of primogeniture; formed nevertheless, not only in name, but in reality, an elective, limited monarchy. It might perhaps be more justly denominated an Oligarchy, at the head of which assembly was placed a king, whose prerogatives resembled those exercised by the princes of the house of Stuart in Scotland; than it could be termed either an Aristocracy, or a Democracy. The Senate, not the States General of the country, disposed of the crown, appointed the successor, and left to the repre-

1610. Constitution of Denmark.

[u] Puffendorf. Hist. of Sweden, p. 403—413. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 252—328.

sentatives

1610. sentatives of the nation, little else than the empty form of approving or ratifying their choice. Christian himself, during the life of his father Frederic the Second, in 1580, was thus designated as the future heir to the throne; and in 1608, his own eldest son Frederic was nominated in a similar manner [x]. Even the nobility of the duchy of Holstein claimed, and actually exercised the same right in 1588, after the demise of Frederic the Second [y]. The privileges and immunities, enjoyed by the nobles in Denmark, which were of a nature incompatible with a proper subordination to the sovereign; proved in fact not less adverse to the freedom, and subversive of the felicity of the people. Long prescription had so confirmed this power, that it might be esteemed dangerous not only to attack, but, even to question it, at the beginning of the seventeenth century [z]. The Norwegian nobility did not however participate in these patrician exemptions, and that kingdom could be considered, after the accession of Christian the Fourth, only as a dependant and subjected province of the Danish monarchy. [a]

Privileges of the nobility.

Subjection of Norway.

The authority of the Danish kings was severely limited; their prerogatives being so confined, that the participation of the Senate was indispensable not only for levying all pecuniary aids, but, even for the act of declaring war [b]

Royal power limited.

[x] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 129—132, and p. 153—157, and p. 199, and p. 248—250.

[y] Ibid. p. 161—166.

[z] Ibid. p. 195—197.

[a] Ibid. p. 186, 187.

[b] Ibid. p. 193.

It

It was not without the utmost difficulty that a sovereign, however beloved and respected he might be, could obtain from the jealous and vigilant parsimony of that assembly, the supplies necessary for putting the kingdom in a state of defence, or for carrying into effect the most beneficial institutions of policy[c]. The royal revenues were scanty; the nature of military service partaking of all the inconveniences and defects inseparable from the genius of the feudal system[d]. At the beginning of the rupture which took place between Denmark and Sweden in 1611, the regular forces of Christian amounted only to sixteen thousand Danish foot, and twelve thousand Norwegian infantry, besides two regiments of English and Scottish stipendiaries. His whole cavalry consisted of two thousand Germans[e]. Yet so inadequate were his financial resources to maintaining even this small body of troops, that the funds set apart for the purpose, became totally exhausted in less than the space of eighteen months[f]. The Danish navy, during the same period, which appears to have been formidable, numerous, and well equipped; exceeded fifty sail of ships of war, among which were several vessels that carried eighty cannon.[g]

1610. Revenues. Troops. Navy.

Before the close of the sixteenth century, the Danish princes had already made the most Commerce.

[c] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 216, and p. 221—224.
[d] Ibid. p. 255—257.
[e] Ibid. p. 278.
[f] Ibid. p. 328, 329.
[g] Ibid. p. 277, 278.

suc-

1610. successful efforts for emancipating the commerce of their subjects, from a dependance on the Hanseatic League. Frederic the Second constructed the castle of Cronsberg, become so memorable in the present age, which defends the passage of the Sound between Zealand and Scania. The toll or duty, then exacted from every vessel passing thro' that celebrated strait, was accurately fixed, and proportioned to the tonnage of ships navigating the Baltic [h]. His successor, Christian the Fourth, directed his unremitting endeavours towards extending the advantages of trade among the people; notwithstanding the impediments opposed by the nobility, to every plan for enriching and ameliorating the condition of their vassals [i]. Yet, as late as 1604, we find that the whole traffic of the Peninsula of Jutland, was still carried on by the Hanse towns, Lubeck, Hamburgh, and Bremen [k]. The commerce of Iceland had likewise been monopolized by the same industrious and rapacious confederacy: but Christian, anxious to rescue, and to restore it to his own subjects, erected an exclusive company, authorized to trade to Iceland, and to the Ferro islands. The experiment seems to have succeeded to his wish [l].

Hanseatic League.

Greenland. Attempts were made to colonize Greenland anew; repeated expeditions being sent, tho' with little profit, to that desolate and frozen

[h] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 147, 148. [i] Ibid. p. 231, 232.
[k] Idem. ibid. [l] Ibid. p. 221, 222.

region.

region[m]. More beneficial establishments were formed in the province of Bleking, a portion of the Swedish continent then subject to Denmark, where the city of Christianople was founded near the Swedish frontiers[n]. Lapland began to be considered as an object of political attention: we find in 1610, six deputies from Norwegian Lapland, repairing to the court of Christian the Fourth, with tributes and presents; imploring at the same time his protection against the enterprizes of Charles the Ninth[o]. It is curious to reflect, that the principal cause of quarrel which existed between those two Kings, the immediate subject of war; was the right of sovereignty over the sterile tracts, extending beneath the Pole, beyond the seventieth degree of northern Latitude[p]. Similar disputes relative to the possession of the ice-fields of Nova Scotia and Acadia, lying along the banks of the river St. Laurence in North America, involved in 1755, the two crowns of France and England, in a long and sanguinary contest. The Danes continued anxiously, but fruitlessly, to desire the re-union of the Orkney and Shetland islands to the crown. At the coronation of Christian the Fourth in 1590, we find him solemnly engaging by an express article of his capitulation, to exert every means for attaining that object[q]. These two Archi-

1610.

Lapland.

Orkney, and Shetland isles.

[m] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 238—241.
[n] Ibid. p. 222.
[o] Ibid. p. 257—258.
[p] Ibid. p. 267—274.
[q] Ibid. p. 199.

pelagos

1610. pelagos have, nevertheless, remained invariably annexed to Scotland.

Encouragement of literature. The reign of Frederic the Second may be esteemed the most shining period of Danish literature. We can never sufficiently eulogize the munificent protection extended by him to

Tycho Brahé. Tycho Brahé. The celebrated observatory, constructed at Uranibourg in the island of Veen, together with the whole astronomical, chymical, and philosophical Apparatus, esteemed superior at that time to any similar establishment in Europe, was entirely made at the royal expence[r]. Brahé himself, tho' he partook of the prejudices and darkness of his age, yet must be accounted one of the most extraordinary as well as illustrious men of the sixteenth century. His contemporaries justly compared him with Hipparchus among the antients, and with Copernicus among the moderns. It is to be regretted that after the decease of Frederic the Second, the envy or malignity of the ministers under the new reign, compelled him precipitately to abandon Denmark; to quit his pursuits and discoveries at Uranibourg, and finally to seek a more secure asylum in the court of Rodolph the Second.[s]

1574—1592. Sweden. While Denmark under the reigns of Frederic the Second, and Christian the Fourth, seemed to rise in the scale of nations, attracting even in some measure the attention of Europe;

[r] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 142—146. Biog. Dict. vol. ii. Art. Brahé.
[s] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 160, 161, and p. 206—211.

Sweden,

Sweden remained in a degree of comparative depression and obscurity. John the Third, during a reign of considerable duration, effected no object glorious to himself, or beneficial to his subjects. After imbruing his hands in the blood of his unfortunate predecessor and elder brother Eric, whom he caused to be deliberately and systematically put to death in prison, from motives of state precaution; he imprudently undertook to restore the Catholic religion in Sweden. Bigotted in his own person to that form of worship and belief, he persisted in the attempt, notwithstanding the opposition of his younger brother, Charles, Duke of Sudermania; the repugnance manifested by the clergy, to such a change; and the almost general aversion of the inferior orders[t]. He committed a still greater error in imbuing Sigismund, his only son, with the same principles; and by advancing his election to the throne of Poland, on the decease of Stephen Battory. Sigismund himself found frequent cause to repent his having abandoned an hereditary crown, founded on the affections of a whole nation, towards the house of Vasa, maintained by wise and equal laws; in order to acquire an elective kingdom, to the people of which country he was a stranger by birth, and where he could only be regarded as the nominal chief of a tumultuous, intractable Sarmatian Aristocracy.[u]

1574—1592. Measures of John the Third, impolitic.

[t] Puffendorf, Hist. of Sweden, p. 275—284. Lagerbring, Hist. de Suede, p. 67—74.

[u] Puffendorf, p. 284—297.

1592—1595. Accession of Sigismund.

After the death of John the Third, Sweden became during several years, the theatre of civil dissention, and at length, of open hostility. No sooner had the sceptre devolved to Sigismund, than Charles, Duke of Sudermania, availing himself of the absence of the new king, endeavoured to secure the civil and religious rights of his countrymen from innovation or attack. On his arrival at Stockholm from Poland, Sigismund, tho' he beheld himself acknowledged sovereign by all the orders of the state, yet experienced how jealous and vigilant were the measures adopted by the Swedes, with a view to prevent the extinction of their liberties. Irritated at these limitations imposed on him, but incapable of punishing by open force their authors, he quitted Sweden with a degree of indignant precipitation, and crossed over into Poland[x]. Encouraged by the circumstances of the time, and propelled by his own ambition, not less than by a love of his country, the Duke of Sudermania instantly summoned a convention of the States. That assembly having without delay delegated to him the supreme authority, Charles exerted its functions with so much promptitude as well as vigor, that the adherents of Sigismund, tho' numerous, were compelled to abandon the kingdom. Returning nevertheless from Dantzic with a military force, he marched towards Stockholm, defeated the troops of his uncle in a general

Civil dissentions,

1595—1598.

and war.

[x] Lagerbring, p. 74—76. Puffendorf, p. 353—367.

action;

action; and if his humanity had not suspended the carnage of the routed army, Sigismund might have dictated conditions to the Swedes. But being himself vanquished in turn, he consented to accept the terms proposed by his competitor; withdrawing soon afterwards finally from a country, where his person was become odious, his religion was proscribed, and his influence become extinct. [y]

1599—1604. Duke of Sudermania,

Charles remaining undisputed master of Sweden, improved his advantages, put to death the Senators who had adhered to his nephew, reduced Finland to obedience, which province continued faithful to the King, and confirmed his newly acquired power, by acts of extreme severity. Concealing nevertheless, or suspending his ultimate designs, he neither assumed the regal title, nor affected to aspire to the crown. It was not till Sigismund, by repeated refusals on his part, either to confirm the late acts of the States, to repair to Sweden in person, or to send to Stockholm his eldest son, for the purpose of his being educated in the protestant faith, appeared to have completely alienated and forfeited his sovereign rights; that the Duke of Sudermania was at length raised to the throne. The royal dignity being at the same time declared hereditary in his line, Sigismund, as well as his descendants, remained for ever excluded from every future pretension [z]. We trace a

proclaimed king.

[y] Puffendorf, p. 367—387.

[z] Lagerbring, p. 76—80. Puffendorf, p. 387—398.

considerable degree of analogy between these events, and the expulsion or abdication of James the Second, in our own history, followed by the elevation of William, Prince of Orange,

1604—1611. to the crown of his father-in-law. The short reign of Charles the Ninth, including only seven years, tho' tranquil in the interior, was distinguished by reverses or misfortunes in all his wars with foreign states. The Swedish arms proved unsuccessful in Muscovy; and in Livonia, where he was defeated by the Poles, he narrowly escaped with his life. Nor did he retrieve either his own honour, or the glory of his country, during the rupture which took

His death. place with Denmark. His end was accelerated by these national disasters; and it was not easy to foresee at the close of his life, the splendid figure which Sweden made soon afterwards under his son and successor, Gustavus Adolphus, when his victorious arms subjected all Germany to the banks of the Rhine and of the Danube.[a]

1610. Condition of Sweden. On a consideration of the extent, resources, and condition of the Swedish monarchy, about the beginning of the seventeenth century; we must admit, that as composing a member of the European system, it occupied a rank inferior to Denmark in political power and consideration. The Swedish princes then possessed no territories on the Southern side of the Baltic, except a portion of Livonia, claimed by the

[a] Puffendorf, p. 398—409. Lagerbring, p. 80—88.

Poles, laid waste by the Muscovites, and held by a very precarious tenure [b]. Christian the Fourth, King of Denmark, continued, like his predecessors, to retain the valuable Swedish provinces of Scania, Halland, and Bleking, extending along the shore of the Baltic, opposite to Zealand, and comprizing all the southern portion of the kingdom. The revenues of the crown were indeed ample, but its prerogatives were extremely limited; the formal consent of the States-General being indispensable, in order to give validity to every measure of finance, or operation of state [c]. Some very productive branches of the public receipt, had likewise become almost extinct under Charles the Ninth. The silver mines of Salberg, which under Gustavus Vasa, annually yielded above twenty thousand Marks of pure silver, no longer repaid the expences of working them, in 1609 [d]. We may judge how rare and scarce were the precious metals in Sweden, when we find John the Third delaying near seven years, the payment of so inconsiderable a sum as nine thousand pounds Sterling, due to Frederic the Second by an article of the peace of Stettin. The money was finally remitted in copper, which the Danish prince caused to be cast into cannon [e]. A monarch whose finances were so contracted, could not maintain any considera-

1610.

Revenues.

Poverty of the crown.

[b] Puffendorf, p. 398—402.
[c] Ibid. p. 402.
[d] Lagerbring, p. 82.
[e] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 107, 108, and p. 140.

1610. Forces. ble naval, or military force. The Swedish troops were more formidable from their valor and discipline, than from numbers; and their fleets seem, during the short war carried on against Christian the Fourth, to have been inferior to the navy of Denmark. [f]

Trade. Every wise and patriotic exertion was made by Charles the Ninth, to reanimate, encourage, and extend the commerce of his subjects. No less than nine towns were founded by him, in various provinces of his dominions; and Gottenburg owes its existence to the enlarged views of the same sovereign. The happy geographical position of that city, open to the German Ocean; situate mid-way between Denmark and Norway; the exclusive privileges extended to its citizens; and the establishment of a company authorized to trade with Persia;—these natural, or political advantages, which soon attracted strangers to Gottenburg, enriched its inhabitants [g]. Beneficial regulations of various kinds, were enacted; and the exportation of iron, the staple of Sweden, was prohibited, unless when wrought, and reduced into bars. Letters, as may be supposed, had made little progress among a rude, poor, and martial people. It was not till the year 1608, that any printed code of laws was known in Sweden; only written usages or ordonnances

Gottenburg, founded.

Letters.

[f] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 302, 303, and p. 314—316.

[g] Lagerbring, p. 82. Puffendorf, p. 403. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 253, 254.

being

being followed in the courts of judicature, anterior to that period. [h] 1610.

Even the manners remained Gothic, and almost ferocious. When Charles the Ninth, and Christian the Fourth, animated by reciprocal enmity, sent defiances to meet and decide their quarrel in single combat; as Charles the Fifth and Francis the First had done in the preceding century; the language of their respective Cartels more resembled the invectives used by Achilles and Agamemnon in the "Iliad," than such as two princes in modern times might be supposed to adopt in their quarrels. Terms the most rancorous, and epithets highly injurious, were used on both sides. "Present thyself," says Charles to the Dane, "according to the antient and laudable cus-"tom of the Goths, and engage with us in "the open field, accompanied by two of thy "followers. We will be there, unarmed, only "a helmet on our head, and a sword in our "hand. If thou come not to the place ap-"pointed, we esteem thee neither a king of "honour, nor a soldier [k]." Christian's reply, which seems not less remote from our ideas of decorum and propriety, equally carries us back to the heroic ages. "Feeble in understanding, "and infirm as thou art in body," says he, "thou art fitter to remain near thy fire and "thy physician, than to measure swords with

Manners, rude and ferocious.

Cartels.

[h] Lagerbring, p. 82.
[i] Idem. p. 83.
[k] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 296, 297.

1610. "us[l]." It was not till a later period of the seventeenth century, that urbanity and politeness became diffused over the northern nations.

1574—1584. Muscovy. If from Sweden, we turn our view towards Muscovy, we shall find that the termination of Ivan Bazilowitz's reign was neither accompanied with the internal felicity, nor distinguished by the external success, which had marked its commencement. In the Poles and Swedes, he found adversaries more formidable than the undisciplined Tartars of Casan and Astracan. It was indeed easy for him to desolate and to overrun Livonia, but he found it difficult to retain possession of that province, the principal object of contest. Ivan, humbled by repeated defeats, pressed in Ingria by the arms of John the Third, and attacked in Lithuania by Stephen Battori, King of Poland; was reduced to adopt a singular expedient for terminating hostilities, namely, the interposition of Gregory the Thirteenth, who then occupied the see of Rome. The Czar nevertheless could only obtain peace, by restoring all his acquisitions in Lithuania, and by renouncing his claims on Livonia[m]. His end was accelerated by domestic afflictions, which the violence of his temper, and the ferocity of his manners, produced or occasioned in his own family.

Close of Ivan's reign.

His death.

1584—1598. Theodore. To this long and sanguinary reign, succeeded the feeble administration of his son Theodore,

[l] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 298—300.

[m] L'Eveque, Hist. de Russie, vol. ii. p. 497—512. Hist. de Pologne, a Amsterdam, 1698, p. 288—294.

last

last of the Dynasty of Ruric; which line of princes had reigned over the Muscovites for more than seven centuries, as the descendants of Hugh Capet have governed the French. He could only be said to slumber on the throne during a few years, while the effective power devolved on Boris Godounof, a nobleman of the highest birth, whose crimes, rather than his talents, opened him a way after Theodore's death, to the succession. In order to facilitate his attainment of the crown, he did not hesitate to cause Demetrius, younger brother of the late Czar, and sole survivor of the blood royal, to be assassinated, with circumstances of the most revolting cruelty[n]. Like Richard the Third among us, neither his acknowledged capacity, his vigilance, nor his great endowments of various kinds, could extinguish the general detestation caused by such an act of sanguinary enormity, or reconcile the Russians to his person and government. A competitor of the most formidable description soon appeared, who pretended to be Demetrius himself, escaped from the hands of his assassins, and long concealed from the researches of the usurper. Protected by Sigismund, King of Poland, and accompanied by an army chiefly composed of Poles, he ventured to invade Muscovy, and to approach the capital. The sudden death of Boris, which took place nearly at the same time, having removed every obstacle to

1584—1598. Boris.

1599—1605. His reign, and death.

[n] L'Eveque, vol. iii. p. 105—132.

his

1599—1605. his success, he was received into Moscow, placed on the throne of his supposed ancestors, and acknowledged sovereign of Russia.°

1605—1606. Reign of Demetrius. His sudden elevation and prosperity proved nevertheless of short duration. The fatal security in which he remained after his entrance into Moscow; his predilection for the Poles, whose aid had procured him the crown; the imprudent contempt or indifference which he manifested towards the Russian faith and usages, precisely as Peter the Third acted, half a century ago; when added to some doubts generally diffused, insinuating that Demetrius was not the prince whom he personated; — these united causes produced an insurrection. The insurgents were headed by Bazil Suiski, a nobleman to whom the new Czar's generous, but pernicious clemency, had recently extended a pardon. Demetrius being massacred by the furious populace, the vacant sceptre was seized by his rebellious subject. It forms one of the perplexed and enigmatical questions of modern history, to decide whether Demetrius was the real son of Ivan Bazilowitz, or whether he is to be accounted only an impostor. Neither the industry, nor the penetration of the most laborious writers of the present age, have been able to remove the impenetrable veil which covers this part of the Muscovite annals. It must remain a problem, like the identity of Perkin Warbeck, who personated the Duke of

His death.

° L'Eveque, vol. iii. p. 132—202. Hist. de Pologne, p. 316, 317.

York

York under the reign of Henry the Seventh among us; or like that of Sebastian, King of Portugal, in the sixteenth century. [p]

The government of Bazil Suiski was not less agitated by political storms, than were the reigns of his two predecessors. Every calamity desolated the empire of which he had usurped the sceptre; while Moscow became a theatre of anarchy, crimes, and sedition. New impostors, denominating themselves Demetrius, who succeeded each other, were rapidly swept away by the indignation of the people whose credulity they ventured to abuse. Bazil himself, degraded and deposed, was finally sent a captive to Warsaw. Sigismund, King of Poland, who had already encamped before the city of Smolenskow, menacing the capital itself; the Russians, as their last remedy for so many evils, demanded of him the Prince Ladislaus, his eldest son, to be constituted their sovereign. By a singular combination of events, the house of Vasa, which already reigned over the Swedes and Poles; seemed to be on the point of adding to their dominion, the Empire of Muscovy. We cannot reflect without astonishment, that a private Swedish family, recently called from a degree of comparative obscurity by the talents and courage of Gustavus Vasa, might thus have governed a vast portion of the planet of the earth, extending from the frontiers

1606—1610. Bazil Suiski.

Civil war, and commotions.

[p] Payerne, Russ. Ges. vol. ii. pass. L'Eveque, vol. iii. p. 203—236. Muller, vol. v. p. 181—380.

of

1606—1610. of Germany, Denmark, and Norway, eastward beyond Siberia; and stretching from the polar regions, south to the limits of China, Persia, and the Ottoman empire. The irresolution, delays, and reluctance of Sigismund, to comply with the Russian demands, having nevertheless allowed the favorable moment to escape, gave that people time to recover from their consternation. It was not till a period later than the time under our contemplation, that the voluntary suffrages of the nation, by conferring the crown on a prince of the house of Romanof, terminated the calamities of Muscovy.[q]

1610. State of Musovy. When we consider the political condition of Russia at the time of Bazil Suiski's deposition, we must admit that it had fallen into a state of total depression, approaching to extinction. The throne of the Czars, founded on religious veneration, cemented by terror, and confirmed by long possession in the race of Ruric, was polluted with blood, overturned, and almost subverted; as we beheld that of France during a long series of years. Successive impostors who availed themselves of the attachment of the inferior orders, to the line of their antient sovereigns, had by their crimes weakened a sentiment so general and so ardent among the Muscovites. The army divided, mutinous, wavering, and dispirited by de-

Anarchy.

[q] L'Eveque, vol. iii. p. 236—310. Hist. de Pologne, p. 318—321.

feats,

feats, was destitute of leaders. Not only the provinces of Ingria, Livonia, and Lithuania, extending along the coast of the Baltic, were lost: but, of the two great western barriers, Novogrod and Smolenskow; the former city was taken by the Swedes, and the latter place fell into the hands of Sigismund, King of Poland [r]. The empire, internally convulsed, and externally attacked by the most formidable opponents, in losing its military energy, seemed to be prepared for a foreign yoke. Yet, notwithstanding these accumulated and aggravated misfortunes, the resources of Russia, pecuniary as well as military, might be justly deemed almost inexhaustible, if they could be called into action. 1610. and depression.

The revenues of the Czars were in fact as indefinite and extensive, as the nature of their authority was uncontrouled by law. Ivan Bazilowitz, as well as his son Theodore, displayed in their court and capital, a barbarous pomp, equal, if not superior to the display of splendor made by the Ottoman Sultans in Constantinople [s]. We find Boris, their immediate successor, in 1598, bringing into the field an army, exceeding in number two hundred thousand men [t]. The Muscovite soldier, tho' unskilled in the science of tactics, and ignorant of war considered as an art, was nevertheless animated with passive intrepidity; impressed with Revenues of the Czars. Soldiery.

[r] L'Eveque, vol. iii. p. 309—324.
[s] Ibid. p. 118—120. Hist. de Pologne, p. 295—300.
[t] Ibid. p. 138.

a sen-

1610. a sentiment of veneration for his prince, approaching almost to idolatry; and capable of sustaining in the field, the severest hardships, or most cruel privations[u]. Every page of their history bears testimony to these national qualities, by which they continue still to be distinguished. Nor ought we to forget, that if the Russian empire, on the side of Poland and Sweden, had recently sustained a considerable diminution of territory, it had proportionally been far more extended towards the eastern frontier.

Conquest of Siberia. A Cossack chief, named Jermac, of undaunted courage and incredible perseverance, effected both the discovery, and the conquest of Siberia, towards the close of Ivan Bazilowitz's reign: thus opening on the side of Asia, an almost boundless field for enterprize to his countrymen; as Columbus, near a century earlier, had done to the Spaniards, by discovering the continent of America.[x]

Arts, and civilization. Barbarous as the Muscovites must be esteemed during the period which we are reviewing, they were neither destitute of commerce, nor totally unacquainted with arts and letters. Ivan made various attempts during his reign, to introduce, as well as to encourage both trade and knowledge, thro'out his vast dominions. While we reprobate the crimes of Boris, it is only just to recognize the elevation of that usurper's mind, and the extent of his political

[u] Hist. de Pologne, p. 301, 302.
[x] L'Eveque, vol. iii. p. 1—42.

views

views. His endeavors were uniformly and not unsuccessfully directed, to revive the intercourse existing between the Hanse towns on the Baltic, and his own subjects. The cities of Pleskow and of Novogrod, from their local situation near the borders of Livonia, were obviously formed to carry on a prodigious intercourse, by means of the ports of Riga and Revel, with the European nations[y]. Demetrius, whether he was in fact the descendant of the Czars, or must be considered only as an impostor, manifested similar propensities, and aspired to civilize the Russians[z]. But, the dissentions which took place after his death, heightened by foreign invasion and the total dissolution of all government; while they plunged the empire into a state of anarchy, retarded the introduction of knowledge, and impeded every species of improvement. 1610. Trade.

The history of Poland, towards the conclusion of the sixteenth, and commencement of the following century, is intimately as well as perpetually blended with those of Muscovy and Sweden. There is not perhaps, a more brilliant period of the Polish annals to be found than the short reign of Stephen Battory, including scarcely eleven years; who by his vigor, decision, and celerity, secured his election to the throne, after the abdication and precipitate flight of Henry of Va- 1575—1586. Poland. Reign of Stephen Battory,

[y] L'Eveque, vol. iii. p. 143, 144, and p. 160. [z] Ibid. p. 234.

lois,

1575—1586. lois, from Cracow. Having compelled the rebellious citizens of Dantzic to acknowledge his title, and to implore his clemency, he glorious. turned his arms against Ivan Bazilowitz. The Czar, unable to sustain their weight, was successively expelled from all his conquests in Livonia and Lithuania; nor could he finally obtain a peace, except by a renunciation of every pretension to the sovereignty of both those provinces[a]. Attentive to the felicity of his subjects, as much as to the grandeur and aggrandizement of the Polish republic, Stephen confirmed them by the most enlarged policy, and the most wise or beneficial regulations. His policy. Cossacks. The Cossacks, who previous to his ascending the throne, led, like their Scythian ancestors, a wandering life, or infested by their piracies the Euxine Sea; and who have performed so distinguished a part in the overthrow of Napoleon; stationed by his beneficence in the fertile province of the Ukraine, along the banks of the Nieper, became the strongest barrier to the south-eastern portion of Poland. Being thus secured in the enjoyment of their natural liberties, they formed an insurmountable bulwark against all the inroads of the Turks and Tartars. Unhappily, Stephen's successors, by permitting the property and freedom of the Cossacks to be violated with impunity, transformed them from faithful subjects, into inveterate enemies; subverting by that impolitic

[a] Hist. de Polog. p. 279—294.

act,

act, one of the greatest securities for the duration and prosperity of the Commonwealth of Poland. [b] 1575—1586.

The reign of Sigismund, then hereditary Prince of Sweden, whom the Poles raised to the throne after Battory's decease; was preceded by a period of civil commotion, arising from the pretensions of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, brother of the Emperor Rodolph the Second. Maximilian, who had been proclaimed king by a powerful faction, did not renounce his pretensions, till after he had made the most desperate, tho' unsuccessful efforts, to secure the crown. If the character of Sigismund had been less tinctured with superstition, or had he only possessed manners more conciliating and liberal; he might probably have established his own greatness, and the elevation of his family, on the most solid foundations. Born to inherit the crown of Sweden, after the death of his father, John the Third; descended by the maternal side, from the race of Jagellon, who reigned for so long a period of time in Poland; he beheld the vast empire of Russia, extenuated by civil and foreign war, invoke his protection, and demand of him Ladislaus, his eldest son, for their sovereign. But, Sigismund's mind was unequal to his fortune; and he lost by his bigotry, indecision, or inflexibility, the sceptres which appear-

1587—1610. Election of Sigismund.

His character and administration.

[b] Hist. de Pol. p. 304—308. La Croix. Hist. Ottom. vol. i. p. 648.

1587—1610. ed to court his acceptance. Expelled from Sweden by Charles, Duke of Sudermania, his uncle; and obliged to desist from his enterprizes against Muscovy, after he had nearly vanquished every obstacle to their completion; he found himself not less reduced to contend with the insolent and intractable nobility of his elective dominions[c]. The Poles, tenacious of their privileges, jealous of their prince, and discontented with his administration; embittered his tranquillity, while they severely restricted his authority. Their attachment to the blood of their antient kings of the Jagellon line, rather than any affection for the person, or esteem for the character of Sigismnnd, seems to have conduced to perpetuating the crown in the house of Vasa, after his decease.

1610. Prosperity of Poland, Notwithstanding the failures and disgraces which Sigismund experienced in his ambitious projects of personal aggrandizement, Poland under his reign, attained to a high degree of national prosperity. It may be doubted, whether at any period of their history, the Republic has been equally flourishing in its interior, and equally formidable to foreign powers. The expulsion of the Muscovites from Livonia and Lithuania, together with the capture of Smolenskow, one of their strongest cities, which important objects Sigismund effected; completely

[c] Lagerbring, p. 74—80. L'Eveque. vol. iii. p. 285—319. Hist. de Polo. p. 309—322.

secured

secured the northern frontier. To the south and east, the Cossacks covered Podolia and Volhinia, on the side of the Crimea, towards the Ottoman dominions [d]. Not one of the three great continental powers, who in our own time have first dismembered, and finally annihilated Poland, was capable of molesting its repose at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Russia, exhausted, desolated by civil war, and nearly subjected, could then inspire no apprehension. The Dukes of Prussia still remained vassals of the Polish crown; nor was that duchy yet incorporated with, and lost in the dominions of the Margraves of Brandenburg. From the feeble and philosophic Rodolph, who seemed alike incapable either of contending with the Turks in Hungary, or of defending his patrimonial inheritance against domestic attacks, Poland had not the slightest cause of alarm.

1610. and internal security.

The inherent defects and vices of its political constitution, subsisted nevertheless in all their force. Every successive reign was preceded and followed by a period of anarchy, frequently accompanied with hostilities. After the decease of Stephen Battory, Poland long exhibited a scene of warfare between the two contending candidates, Sigismund, Prince of Sweden, and Maximilian, Arch-duke of Austria. The crown itself, venal and elective, as well as destitute of permanent authority to sustain its just dignity, was dependant on a haughty, intractable

Defects of the constitution.

[d] Hist. de Pol. p. 304—308.

1610. Election of their kings.

Aristocracy. The place of election resembled rather a tumultuous encampment of discordant Tartar chiefs, at the head of their respective vassals; than a convocation of the nobility of a kingdom, met to determine on the choice of a sovereign. We may judge how prodigious was the assemblage of armed men on these occasions, when we find that in 1587, before Sigismund was raised to the throne, the single family of Zborowski appeared at the head of ten thousand followers. The retainers of the family of Zamoiski, regarded as the head of the Catholic faction, tho' less numerous, were better disciplined, and equally formidable in all respects[e]. It cannot excite surprize under such circumstances, that the scymetar, or the musket, finally decided the contest between the two candidates.

Forces. Cavalry.

The principal strength of the Polish troops consisted in their cavalry, who were accounted superior in that age, to the Muscovite, Swedish, or German horse. Stephen Battory, who introduced, or rather restored a severe discipline among them, established a permanent body of forces, always prepared to oppose the sudden incursions of the Tartars; and in order to provide for their regular support, he destined a very considerable proportion of the royal revenues[f]. That able and active prince, after having carried his researches thro' every de-

[e] Hist. de Pol. p. 310.
[f] Ibid. p. 304. La Croix Hist. Ottomane. vol. i. p. 648.

partment

partment of state, remodelled the administration of the civil and criminal justice, thro'out Poland[g]. Notwithstanding these salutary regulations, the Poles could only be esteemed a semi-barbarous people, under the reign of Sigismund the Third. Licentiousness characterized the upper classes. Poverty and slavery degraded the inferior orders. Except from the single port of Dantzic, which city was under the protection, not under the dominion of the Polish kings; the nation carried on no commercial intercourse with the other states of Europe. Industry was oppressed; manufactures remained in the rudest state: while letters were neither cultivated nor encouraged. The manners of the nation, fierce and unpolished, bespoke their Sarmatian origin. Cracow still continued to constitute the nominal capital of the kingdom, tho' Stephen Battory held his court principally at Grodno in Lithuania; and his successor Sigismund resided more commonly at Warsaw, which city began to be considered as the metropolis.[h]

1610. Licentiousness, and barbarism.

With Solyman the Second, one of the greatest princes of the Ottoman line, the genius of the Turkish Sultans seemed to have become extinct; tho' the empire, like that of Rome under the successors of Augustus, still continued to receive considerable augmentations of territory. The whole reign of Amurath the Third, who succeeded Selim the Second, formed a period

1574—1595. Ottoman Emp ir. Reign of Amurath the Third.

[g] Hist. de Pol. p. 304. [h] Ibid. p. 308, and p. 326.

1574—1595. of unremitted hostility, during more than twenty years. Happily however for Europe, his arms and efforts, instead of advancing towards Germany, were long directed exclusively against Persia. Shirvan, the Media of Antiquity, together with a vast portion of the countries that extend between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, were either subjected by, or voluntarily submitted to Amurath. But, the distance of the theatre of war, from the seat of government on the shore of the Bosphorus; the absence of the Sultan from his armies, where he never appeared in person; the difficulty of procuring subsistence for his troops, in provinces desolated by the sword; and the superiority of the Persian, over the Turkish cavalry; — such were the causes that rendered the possession of these remote conquests uncertain, and their tenure insecure[i].

Conquests in Persia,

and in Hungary. In Hungary, where the truce concluded between Maximilian the Second and Selim the Second, had been wantonly or imprudently infringed by the Austrian commanders; the Turks proceeding westward along the Danube, made themselves masters of Raäb or Javarin. The capture of that important city, situated scarcely four days march from the gates of Vienna; exposed the whole frontier of Moravia, Austria, and Styria, to the incursions of the Ottoman, or Tartar cavalry. If Amurath had inherited with the dominions, the energy and talents of

[i] Vanel Hist. des Turcs, vol. iii. p. 105—158. Knolles, p. 921—1005. La Croix, Hist. Ottom., vol. i. p. 610—664. Cantemir, book iii. chap. vi. p. 229—234.

his

his grandfather Solyman, the eastern part of Germany might with facility have been overrun, and perhaps would have been reduced into the form of a Mahometan province[k]. Under these circumstances so flattering to his pride, Amurath expired in the vigor of his age: a prince in whose composition were blended the most contradictory qualities; effeminate, yet, brave; indolent, tho' capable of great exertion; fond of war, but destitute of military ability; and perpetually engaged in hostile enterprizes, while he immured himself in the apartments of the Seraglio.[l] 1574—1595. Death, and character of Amurath.

The reign of his son Mahomet the Third, which was comprized within the short space of nine years, constituted one of the most inglorious and ignominious periods of the Turkish annals. The collossal fabric of the Ottoman greatness, reared by so many warlike Sultans, cemented by near two centuries of almost uninterrupted victories; seemed to crumble under its own weight, and to be menaced with dissolution. Neither a sense of glory, nor of shame, could awaken a prince, whose mind, unequal to the labors of government, necessitated or impelled him to abandon every department of state, to slaves and women. On the eastern frontier, the Persians, under Scha Abbas, denominated the Great, in repeated engagements 1595—1604. Reign of Mahomet the Third. Losses, and disgraces.

[k] La Croix, vol. i. p. 674—680. Knolles, p. 1014—1046. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 152—176.

[l] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 183—184. La Croix, vol. i. p. 682—684.

1595—1604. repulsed the Ottoman troops; subjected or desolated the provinces which had recently submitted to Amurath; and carried their ravages into the heart of the Turkish dominions. At the other extremity of the empire, in Hungary, Javarin was retaken by a vigorous effort of the generals of Rodolph; while Natolia, Caramania and Syria remained a prey to the accumulated calamities of anarchy, civil war, and insurrection. Successive rebels, some of whom did not hesitate to assume and exercise all the functions of the imperial dignity, maintained themselves in those Asiatic Provinces, against every effort made for their suppression. Constantinople itself presented a scene of consternation and tumult. The Spahis and Janizaries, indignant at the supine inactivity of the Sultan, and no longer restrained by the severity of military discipline, filled the capital with alarm. They pillaged the inhabitants, massacred their own officers, and were with difficulty restrained from proceeding to the deposition of Mahomet himself. [m]

Insurrections.

1603—1610. Accession of Achmet. If the death of that prince, which took place under these circumstances, anticipated, or prevented so fatal a mark of general indignation and contempt; his subjects could expect little benefit from the nominal change of masters. Achmet, his successor, a feeble youth, infirm in constitution, deficient in talents, and void of

[m] Cantemir, p. 236, 237. Knolles, p. 1056—1201, passim. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 185—286. La Croix, vol. ii. p. 2—68.

expe-

experience, afforded no prospect to the Turks of a consolatory nature. Neither the honor of the national arms was vindicated, nor internal tranquillity restored in the capital. The Persians, after having obtained a decided superiority in the field, spread themselves over Diarbec, the antient Mesopotamia; entered Caramania, and even approached Constantinople.[n] New insurrections arose in Syria, which could not be quelled by lenient measures, nor extinguished by violent remedies. The treasury was exhausted, the spirit of the army depressed by multiplied defeats, and the resources of the empire appeared to menace extinction. In this critical situation of affairs, the Ottoman ministers, unable to resist in so many quarters, made proposals of peace to Rodolph the Second. An Emperor of a martial or enterprizing character, would not only have rejected them, but would have availed himself of the occasion for expelling the Turks from Hungary. No opportunity more favorable could have arisen for effecting that great object. But, Rodolph, engaged in literary researches, despised by the Germans, and attacked by the members of his own family, gladly consulted his personal repose, at the expence of his public duties. A truce for twenty years was signed between him and Achmet[o]. Yet even when they were relieved from so formidable an enemy, the Turks

1603—1610. Depression of the Empire.

Truce with Rodolph the Second.

[n] La Croix, vol. ii. p. 112—114.

[o] Ibid. p. 108—110. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 305—308.

exhi-

1603—1610. exhibited no proofs of vigor against their other opponents. Every effort which the generals of Achmet made for recovering the eastern provinces lying along the banks of the Tygris, then retained or ravaged by Scha Abbas, was attended with disgrace. The fleet of Tuscany, acting in concert with the Persians, ventured to invade the island of Cyprus: while Smyrna, one of the most opulent and commercial cities of the Levant, was taken and pillaged by the rebels of Natolia. In the midst of these disastrous events, so humiliating to the Ottoman name, the young Sultan, inactive, continued at Constantinople, occupied in embellishing the capital with monuments of piety or magnificence, and little affected by the declension of the Turkish arms.[p]

Inactivity of Achmet.

1610. State of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman empire, under the reign of Achmet the First, was already far declined from that elevation, to which it had attained under Solyman the Magnificent, and at which point it had remained in some measure stationary during the short reign of Selim the Second his successor. Universal relaxation pervading every department, military and civil; even the power of the Sultans, however indefinite or unlimited it might seem, yet fell, in common with all the other institutions of the monarchy, into contempt. The majesty of the throne, and the sanctity of the Seraglio, were not violated by

[p] Knolles, p. 1205—1296, passim. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 309—312. Cantemir, p. 238—240. La Croix, vol. ii. p. 114—132.

the

the Janizaries alone. In imitation of the license assumed by the troops, the Mahometan clergy had likewise thrown off their habitual respect for the sovereign. It would be difficult to find in the most seditious sermons of the popular preachers among the Scottish reformers of the sixteenth century, expressions more indecent, or Apostrophes more insulting, than were addressed to Mahomet the Third. In the year 1600, Emir Effendi ventured to tell him publicly from the pulpit, that "there existed two "Emperors in Turkey, Mahomet, and Scri- "vano, the rebel chief who governed Natolia; "that the former was indeed their prince by "succession, and the latter by violence; but, "that Scrivano being the stronger, the people "knew not which sovereign to obey[q]." No punishment was inflicted, nor even indignation expressed by Mahomet, at so bold a reprimand. The resentment of the soldiery at the state of degradation into which the empire was obviously fallen, from the incapacity or vices of the sovereign, rose to such a point, that on various occasions, they threatened with loud cries, to set aside the Ottoman family as unworthy to reign, and to offer the sceptre either to the Kam of the Tartars, or to the Cheriff of Mecca[r]. We cannot easily conceive any acts of outrage more personally wounding, or which more strongly demonstrate how nearly approach the

1610. Contempt of the Imperial authority.

Acts of insolence,

and outrages

[q] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 242, 243. La Croix, vol. ii. p. 40—42.

[r] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 229, and p. 245.

extremes

1610. extremes of despotism and of popular licentiousness.

Extinction of military discipline.

With the dignity of the throne, was become equally extinct the discipline of the army. The Janizaries and Spahis no longer resembled the victorious bands, who under Mahomet the Second had overturned the Byzantine empire; and when they were conducted by Selim the First, or his son Solyman, had given laws to a considerable portion of Europe and of Asia. Since the death of the last of those martial princes, a succession of four inactive or effeminate Sultans, had broken the spirit, and enervated the valour of the Turkish soldiery. Yet we must admit that however feeble or dissolute might be the Ottoman emperors, they were not flagitious. None of them emulated the crimes and atrocities of Caligula, of Nero, or of Commodus. No Turkish Tiberius transformed the islands in the sea of Marmora, into a scene of turpitude and prostitution. Constantinople never exhibited spectacles of such horror and enormity, as were beheld in antient Rome. But, the enthusiasm which formerly rendered the Janizaries invincible, no longer existed[s]. As early as 1585, under Amurath the Third, scarcely thirty years after the death of Solyman, so reluctant had they become in consequence of repeated defeats, to enroll themselves for the Persian war, that even a very considerable encrease of pay could not procure recruits,

[s] Knolles, Brief Discourse of the Turkish empire, passim.

or

or fill up the vacancies made by the sword[t]. 1610.
During the course of the two succeeding reigns, the evil augmented in violence. Such was the degree of contempt into which had fallen the most fundamental military institutions, that the "Timariots," or grants of land, made by the first Sultans to the soldiery, from which donations they drew their principal subsistence, were given away to the Bashaws, and distributed among the Sultanas, under Mahomet the Third[u]. The Spahis, at the accession of that prince, had so far degenerated from their antient renown, that the far greater number, oblivious of their duty, either followed commercial employments, or cultivated their lands; sending to supply their place in the ranks, substitutes of the lowest description[x]. In order to abolish a practice which must have proved fatal to the military service, and even subversive of the duration of the empire itself; it became requisite in 1596, to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that every Spahi who failed to serve in person when summoned, should forfeit his "Timariot."[y]

Abuses.

Spahis.

The Janizaries under Achmet, notwithstanding the continual augmentation of their privileges, the donatives distributed among them at the commencement of every reign, and the progressive emoluments annexed to their situation, could not be prevented from committing

Janizaries.

[t] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 141.
[u] Ibid. p. 243—245.
[x] Ibid. p. 200, 201.
[y] Ibid. p. 212.

every

1610. every outrage on the slightest pretences. They frequently plundered the metropolis, and set at defiance all restraint[z]. But, down to the period under our examination, they had not borne the head of any of their Sultans on a lance through the streets of the capital, as the Prætorian guards did those of Galba, and of Pertinax. Nor did they ever violate their obedience and loyalty to the Ottoman line, by setting up the empire to sale, after massacring the sovereign. The Janizaries who deposed Bajazet the Second, instantly submitted to his son Selim. No Didius Julianus was found, to purchase the Turkish sceptre. In 1609, we find that the regular daily pay of every private Janizary amounted to near eight Aspers, or about fourteen pence of English money. The Spahi had ten Aspers[a]. How ample the donatives distributed by the Turkish emperors at their accession, were become before the same period, we may judge from that of Achmet in 1604, when he succeeded to the throne. Each Janizary then received about ten pounds Sterling, together with an additional Asper of pay. Five Aspers were added to the pay of the Spahis, who likewise obtained a largess of more than a pound Sterling a man.[b]

Their frequent mutinies.

Donatives.

The decline of the Ottoman greatness was not less sensibly felt in the naval, than in the

[z] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 243—250.
[a] Knolles, Brief Discourse. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 141.
[b] La Croix, vol. ii. p. 72. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 288.

military department. Cicala, a Genoese Renegado, who commanded the fleet under Mahomet the Third, and who perished by the bow string, towards the conclusion of that inglorious reign, acquired by his valour a high reputation. He seems, nevertheless, to have been inferior in ability to his two predecessors in that eminent rank, Barbarossa and Ulucciali. So low was fallen the navy of the Turks under Amurath the Third, that Maltese gallies ventured to commit depredations in the sea of Marmora, and even to enter the canal of Constantinople itself, with impunity. On the Black Sea, the Cossacks exercised similar acts of violence or insult; as did the Uscoques, a piratical Horde inhabiting the coast of Morlachia, in the Adriatic [c]. Such was the unprotected state of the coasts after the accession of Mahomet the Third, and so little terror did the Turks inspire; that the Tuscan Gallies, imitating those of Malta, ravaged the shores of Dalmatia, plundered the towns of the Morea, and landed forces in various islands of the Archipelago [d]. We must confess, that no such insults could have been meditated during the reign of Selim the First, or of Solyman the Second, when Europe trembled at every hostile preparation made by the Sultans. Even after the victory of Lepanto, none such were attempted. The exhausture of the revenues, resulting from the maladministration of the finances, seemed to

1610. Navy. Gallies. Insults, committed on the coasts.

[c] La Croix, vol. i. p. 666. [d] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 34.

com-

1610. complete the ruin of the empire, and to render it apparently incapable of resisting a vigorous attack.

Resources of the Sultans. In defiance, nevertheless, of these multiplied causes of decay, the Ottoman princes still possessed inexhaustible resources, if they had been properly called into exertion, under a sovereign of talents and activity. It was to be apprehended that such a monarch might speedily arise, who by restoring the discipline, and reviving the courage of the troops, would soon reanimate the religious enthusiasm of his subjects, and lead them to new victories. Nor was it possible to ascertain the revenues of a Sultan, who arbitrarily disposed of every species of property thro'out his dominions. The amount of confiscations alone, which entered the treasury on the death or execution of the Bachas, annually replenished the imperial coffers, and might be esteemed adequate to the greatest emergencies. We are covered with astonishment at the magnitude of the sums, which we are assured, were thus converted to the profit of the Sultan [c]. The arbitrary adulteration of the coin, accompanied by the encrease of the value of Money, formed another ordinary financial operation of the government, which excited murmurs, and sometimes revolts; but, the effect of the measure proved not the less productive to the sovereign. We find Amurath the

Confiscations.

Alteration of the coin.

[c] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 162, 163, and p. 202, 203. Knolles, Brief Discourse.

Third

Third sustaining by this single pecuniary engine, the whole expence of the war carried on against Persia, during many years, without diminishing his private treasure. He ventured to double the nominal value of the current gold coin, notwithstanding the clamor of the troops, who found themselves thus defrauded of half their pay[f]. It is obvious that only a despotism the most confirmed, could dare to have recourse to such expedients. 1610.

Under Achmet the First, the aggregate body of the Janizaries, did not exceed thirteen thousand men; and even of that very limited number, scarcely half could be regarded as effective: but, the Asapi, or common foot soldiers were numerous, and he could with facility bring into the field, a hundred and fifty thousand Spahis[g]. The woods of Epirus and Cilicia, as well as the forests of Nicomedia and Trebizond on the southern shore of the Euxine, furnished incalculable supplies of timber for the navy. Christian artificers and shipwrights of the most skilful description, superintended the dock yards or arsenals, established at Gallipoli, Sinopé, and Constantinople[h]. A numerous train of artillery always accompanied their armies, when engaged in war. Above five thousand pieces of large cannon had been carried off by Solyman the Second, from Hungary alone, during the course of his various cam- Troops. Artillery.

[f] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 183.
[g] Knolles, Brief Discourse.
[h] Ibid.

1610. paigns along the Danube. Selim, his son, found in the island of Cyprus, near five hundred cannon; and as many more in the fort of the Goletta near Tunis, all which were transported into his dominions [i]. Constantinople, situated, like Rome, in a favored climate; placed in a position formed by nature for the capital of a vast empire, at the point where Europe and Asia meet; enriched by the spoils of plundered nations, as Paris is in the present age; adorned with the venerable remains of Roman greatness, and perpetually ornamented with new religious edifices raised by the Sultans; might justly be esteemed in many points of view, the first Metropolis of the world. Its population, we are assured, however incredible, exceeded seven hundred thousand persons [k]. Even Tauris, Cairo, Aleppo, and other secondary places of the Turkish empire, far surpassed in the number of their inhabitants, the most flourishing cities of Europe. An empire which possessed such advantages, however ill administered it might actually be, justly inspired the greatest terror; and demanded from all the surrounding states the most attentive vigilance, in order to prevent its further aggrandizement.

Magnitude of Constantinople.

Conclusion. If, after separately reviewing as we have done, the state of the various European powers, at the death of Henry the Fourth, we were led to form some conclusions on the general aspect

[i] La Croix, vol. i. p. 658. Knolles, Brief Discourse.
[k] Knolles, Ibid.

of

of Europe itself at that period; we should admit that Spain still continued ostensibly to hold the first place among nations. Tho' extenuated by the gigantic projects of Philip the Second, and languishing under the feeble administration of the Duke of Lerma; yet, sustained by its past reputation, by the superior discipline of the Spanish bands, by the recent acquisition of Portugal, by the treasures of South America, and the magnitude of its possessions in every part of the globe, Philip the Third might be justly regarded as the greatest of the Christian princes. On the other hand, France, newly risen from its ashes after the conclusion of the civil wars, re-invigorated by twelve years of tranquillity, governed by a sovereign of consummate experience, restored in its finances, and conducted by ministers of ability, prepared to attack the collossal but tottering fabrick of the Spanish monarchy. We cannot reasonably doubt, that if Henry's life and projects had not been suddenly arrested by the knife of Ravaillac; he would have raised France in the course of a short period of time, to the pre-eminence among the European powers, which had been occupied for near a century by Spain. England, which during four and forty years, under Elizabeth's government, had attracted the envy and admiration of mankind; by a singular fatality, from the timid pusillanimity of her successor, lost its influence at the precise moment that it acquired a vast accession of power, population, and dominions, by the union

1610. General state of Europe. Spain. France. Great Britain.

1610. of the two crowns. As the reign of Elizabeth constitutes the most luminous portion of the modern annals of England, unless we should except from the remark, the regency of the son of George the Third; no period of our history presents so disgraceful a blank, as the administration of James the First. They form a striking contrast.

Holland. The Dutch Commonwealth, victorious in the contest against its antient masters the Spaniards, already began to form plans of commercial and territorial aggrandizement at the extremity of Asia, which projects they speedily realized in

Italy. the fullest extent. Italy no longer desolated by the sanguinary contests for the possession of the Milanese, or of Naples, which under Charles the Fifth, and Francis the First, had so long rendered it the theatre of war in the sixteenth century; enjoyed a degree of temporary repose through all its states, from the foot of the Alps, quite to the southern extremity of Calabria. It was not till the genius of Richlieu animated and invigorated the French counsels, that the arms of France re-appeared in Pied-

Switzerland. mont, or were beheld in Lombardy. Protected by their mountains, their valor, their renown, and their love of liberty, the Switzers were courted by every continental power: while the

House of Austria. German branch of the house of Austria, so formidable only fifty years earlier; in the person of Rodolph the Second had relapsed, like England under James the First, into political insignificance. Torn by intestine feuds, that great

great family appeared equally unable to meet, or to avert the storm, with which it was menaced from the power of France. Germany, agitated by religious quarrels, and divided between two mighty factions already drawn out in hostile array against each other; contained within its entrails, the seeds of a vast and imminent conflagration. The Baltic kingdoms, Denmark, Sweden, Muscovy, and Poland, veiled, in obscurity from their remote position, plunged in anarchy, or not emerged from barbarism, entered little into the general system: nor was it yet foreseen by the most sagacious politicians, that Sweden, bursting its limits, would speedily become the arbitress of the North, as their ancestors the Goths had formerly given law to the south. The Ottoman Empire, tho' past its Zenith, and rapidly hastening to decay from the operation of internal causes, remained nevertheless externally formidable; and the Sultans continued to occupy, as they still do in the nineteenth century, notwithstanding their progressive decline, some of the richest, as well as the most beautiful and maritime countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

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